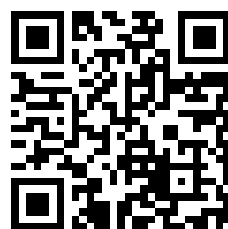

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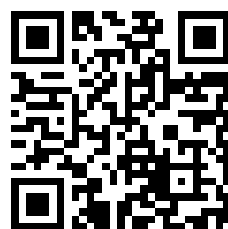
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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1928

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

CONFERENCES are in the air.

Paris, Rome, Berlin, London (1913), and now Brussels. Such is the history of the International Congress of Historical Studies. The fifth meeting will take place in Brussels, and will last from the 8th to the 15th of April, 1923. The distinguished Belgian Committee which organises the meeting includes the names of F. Cumont and H. Delehaye, S.J., a guarantee that Classical interests will be well represented. On an occasion on which so many broken threads will have to be gathered together, it is important that British scholarship should make its voice heard. The Secretary of the Congress is M. F. L. Ganshof, 12, Rue Jacques Jordaens, Bruxelles.

To celebrate the centenary of Renan, a Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions is to meet in Paris from the 8th to the 13th of October, 1923. Here, again, the names—among many others—of Homolle, Loisy, S. Reinach, and Toutain are a pledge that the case of the ancient Mediterranean religions, pagan and Christian, will be adequately presented. M. Alphandéry, 104, Rue de la Faisanderie, Paris (XVI^{me}), is the Secretary.

Particulars of that excellent enterprise, the Summer School in Greek, which will go into residence at Westfield College from August 1 to 15, 1923, and will cost less than the cheapest holiday, may be had from Miss C. Parker, Westfield College, N.W. 3. The School is planned to meet the needs of those who know little Latin and less Greek; and the bill of fare includes, besides formal courses, *τεμάχη* from the *δαιττα* of Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr. R. W. Livingstone, and Dr. Ernest Barker, served by themselves.

We extend a hearty welcome to two new Classical periodicals:

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΝ, Rivista Trimestrale di Antichità, edited by N. Terzaghi and M. di Martino Fusco, will be published by Rondinella and Loffredo, Naples. In its own words, 'come il Museo Alessandrino era una vera e propria *Universitas studiorum*, così la Rivista vuole essere una palestra universale di studi e ricerche'—classical and mediaeval. The annual subscription for foreigners is 40 lire.

Hondius of Leyden, Roussel of Strasburg, Salac of Prague, Ziebarth of Hamburg, and

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Tod of Oxford, point out that 'there is no work on the Greek side corresponding to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* or to *L'Année épigraphique* on the Roman, and this lack has seriously hampered Hellenic studies.' They therefore propose to publish a *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, written in Latin, which will give the text of new Greek inscriptions and generally record progress in epigraphical work. This is badly needed, and we earnestly hope that the support necessary to ensure its success will be forthcoming. A special obligation lies on those countries whose exchange is favourable; and intending British subscribers of the modest sum of 10s. a year should write to Mr. M. N. Tod, Oriel College, Oxford.

On November 18, 1922, the Cambridge Philological Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by a dinner at Jesus College, Mr. J. M. Edmonds (President) in the Chair. The guests included Professors A. C. Clark of Oxford, J. Harrower of Aberdeen, and A. S. Hunt of Oxford. We desire to associate ourselves with the eloquent tributes which were paid to the Society on that occasion.

The Aberdeen University Greek Play Committee goes on adding triumph to triumph and chorus to chorus. Four performances of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (in Professor Harrower's translation, and with Dalcroze dancing) were given before large audiences last November. On a hint from Romagnoli's presentation of the *O.T.* in Syracuse last April, an extra chorus of women (making three in all) was introduced to attend Jocasta, and the total number of performers was 173. The Archon and Aristotle might have something to say to the extra 150; but criticism, in this column at least, must give way to a word of hearty appreciation of the fight which Professor Harrower and his friends are waging on behalf of Greek in the north of Scotland.

A

RECENT EDITIONS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN POETS.

Callimachi fragmenta nuper reperta. Edidit RUDOLF PFEIFFER. (Lietzmann's Kleine Texte, 145.) One vol. 8" x 5½". Pp. 94. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1921. M. 18.

Kallimachosstudien. Von RUDOLF PFEIFFER. One vol. 9" x 6". Pp. iv + 124. München: Verlag der Hochschulbuchhandlung Max Hueber, 1922. 10s. net.

Callimachus and Lycophron. With an English translation by A. W. MAIR, D.Litt., Professor of Greek, Edinburgh University. *Aratus.* With an English translation by G. R. MAIR, M.A., Headmaster of Spier's School, Beith. The Loeb Classical Library. One vol. 8vo. Pp. viii + 644, with two maps. London: W. Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921. 10s. net.

CALLIMACHUS.

THE appearance, within some six months of each other, of three books dealing in different ways with Callimachus is proof that the discoveries, made during the last twenty years or so, of papyri containing works by this writer are continuing to bear good fruit. The various publications in which the new fragments have appeared are many, and nowadays often inaccessible. In this fact lies the great value of the book which comes first on our list. In it Dr. Pfeiffer, after returning—to quote his preface—*gravi vulnere affectus e bello infelicissimo*, has collected all the new fragments hitherto made public from papyri, the remains of the *Hecale* from the famous tablet at Vienna, and other scraps rescued from Lexica, etc., since Schneider's edition.¹ For many of the fragments he has himself inspected the papyri, and is able to correct or supplement the transcript of the first editor. Dr. Pfeiffer has carried out his task with diligence and acuteness. We are given text, scholia (if any), apparatus criticus, and Latin notes by the editor all on one page, so that the reader's labour is enormously lightened. There

can be no doubt that the book (of which an *editio maior* is soon to appear) will be indispensable to students of Callimachus.

Among much that is valuable, particular attention may be drawn to the following passages.² In frag. 115 (Schneider), where editors following the MSS. of the Anthology (A. P. XIII. 9) have been accustomed to read

**Ἔρχεται πολὺς μὲν Αἰγαῖον διατμήξας ἀπ' οἰνηρῆς
Χίου
ἀμφορεύς, πολὺς δὲ Λεσβίης ἄωτον νέκταρ οἰνάνθης
ἀγων*

and to interpret *ἄωτον* as equalling *ἄνθος*, Pfeiffer (p. 10) makes the convincing correction *ἄωτος*. (Compare Hesych. *ἄωτος* · *μὴ ἔχων οὖς*.) In Pap. Oxyrh. 1362, l. 30 (a defective line), he reads *οὐατα μυθεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ἀνέχων* from Strab. IX. 438 = Call. frag. 98d (Schneider). In his note on Pap. Oxyrh. 1011, ll. 36 *sqq.*, he points out that Callimachus is referring to a popular etymology of the *ἐτησία*. (Compare Hygin. *Astr.* II. 4, *nonnulli etiam aetesias adpellaverunt, quod ex-postulatae sunt ab Jove et ita concessae*.) Ll. 218-9 of the same papyrus he explains as referring to a slave wearing the *ἐξωμῖς* and compares the scholiast on Ar. *Vesp.* 444, *ἱμάτια δουλικά καὶ ἑτερομάσχαλα*. In one passage alone—Pap. Oxyrh. 1011, ll. 81 *sqq.*—does he appear to go seriously astray. His reconstruction of these lines, which form the epilogue to the *Αἴτια*, cannot be accepted for various reasons, but chiefly because it is incredible that Zeus should be represented as addressing the poet in the words—

χαῖρε, σὺν εὐεστοῖ δ' ἔρχεο λωιτέρη.

The volume of essays which Pfeiffer has published with the title *Kallimachosstudien* is intended to supplement his edition of the fragments. Part I. deals with the poem (= Pap. Berol. 13417A) on the death of Arsinoe, sister and wife of Ptolemy II. In the first essay, Pfeiffer contests Wilamowitz's reading and interpretation of the opening lines and argues that, if rightly construed,

¹ Excepting of course Pap. Oxyrh. 1793, published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XV., 1922.

² For the editor's interpretation of Pap. Berol. 13417A and Pap. Berol. 11521 see *infra*.

the passage enables us to give an exact date to the Queen's death, viz. July 9, 270 B.C. This result seems reasonably certain and should be noted in connexion with the chronology of Theocritus. In the second essay of Part I. Pfeiffer has collected much information about Philotera, sister of Arsinoe and Ptolemy II., who, translated after death to the company of Heaven, is introduced as one of the speakers in Callimachus' poem. This princess appears in several contemporary inscriptions, but seems to have been chiefly notable for the strictness of her morals, with the result that the Alexandrian court revenged itself by inventing stories to ridicule her excess of modesty. In Part II. the author discusses certain passages in the new fragments of the *Αἴτια*, viz.: (1) Pap. Berol. 11521. Pfeiffer argues that the speaker is Aeëtes, not a Colchian handmaiden of Medea, as Wilamowitz had supposed: he also attempts to reconstruct Callimachus' description of the Argonauts' return-journey. (2) Pap. Berol. 11629B. This contains the Heracles and Theiodamas episode: according to Pfeiffer the poet is giving the *αἴτιον* for the cult of Heracles *Βουθόινας* at Lindus. (3) Pap. Oxyrh. XI. 1362. Pfeiffer discusses Callimachus' contribution to the story of Erigone and her dog. (4) An apparent quotation by Michael Acominatus (ob. about A.D. 1220) of Pap. Berol. 11629B, ll. 24-5.

The studies exhibit great learning and a refreshing absence of dogmatism. Apart from the immediate points which the writer is engaged to establish there are several incidental remarks which throw considerable light on Callimachus' style and literary ideals.

The third book on our list is Professor Mair's edition of Callimachus in the Loeb Classical Library. It includes the hymns, the epigrams, and a large number of the fragments, old and new, together with an introduction on Callimachus' life and works and separate introductions to each hymn and to the longer fragments. The preface tells us that the volume, which was actually published in 1921, was intended to appear in 1914, and that this delay has 'made it hard to observe a meticulous

consistency.' This fact doubtless explains the absence of the interesting Heracles and Theiodamas episode from the *Αἴτια* (first published as Pap. Berol. 11629B in 1914), but it is a pity that the poem on Arsinoe, first published in 1912 as Pap. Berol. 13417A, finds no place in Professor Mair's edition.

The notes are on a larger scale than is usual in the Loeb Library and contain much useful information and acute argument. Compare, e.g., the commentary on Epigrams 43 and 49 or the note on Callimachus' reference to Pythagorean mathematics (pp. 276-7). In his introductions, Professor Mair shows a healthy scepticism as regards the often far-fetched theories and combinations of the Germans, but in view of the necessity under which he lay of studying 'the severest compression' it is to be regretted that he has thought such explanations as those of Maass (cited on pp. 20-1 and 27) worthy of detailed statement. His remarks on the MSS. need to be supplemented by Dr. Smyly's recent articles in the *Classical Quarterly*, and his bibliography for the new fragments makes no attempt to be exhaustive.

The text and translation of the *Hymns* do not offer much ground for controversy, but a few points may be noticed. *Hymn* I. 42, ἐπί codd., Mair. Ἀπό, suggested by Meineke, at least deserves mention. II. 26-7, the optatives surely express a wish. III. 114, ἐπί seems to mean 'on,' not 'to.' *Ib.* 121, οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ δρῦν codd.: οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ δῆν Mair = 'not long was it ere thou,' etc. Scarcely convincing. *Ib.* 124 sqq., may not οἷς . . . ὀργήν be an anticipatory relative-sentence? We thus get a contrast with οἷς δέ κεν κ.τ.λ. in ll. 129 sqq. Failing this it would be preferable to put a full stop after τέλεσκον and to take σχέτλιοι οἷς κ.τ.λ. as a general statement.

The following attempts of the editor to remedy the corruption of the MSS. deserve notice—viz.: *Hymn* V. 93, ἃ (ἡ) μὲν codd.; ἃ καὶ ἄμ' Mair. *Epigr.* XXXIX. 5, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὀρή τάλαινα θάρσους A. P.; αὐτούς θ' οὖς ἐφόρει τάλαινα θύρσους Mair. *Ib.* XLVII. 7, χάκαστὰς codd.; χάκαστά σ' Mair.

In the editing of the new fragments there are some things which need to be revised in the light of Pfeiffer's edition, e.g. p. 192, l. 30; p. 286, l. 263; p. 289, footnote *a* (the interrupter seems to be a bramble-bush). In his note on ll. 10 sqq. of the Cydippe fragment Professor Mair (p. 207) explains the reference by saying that the oxen were to be *bathed* in the morning for the prenuptial sacrifice. As was pointed out by Housman, Callimachus is referring to the reflexion of the sacrificial knife in the lustral water. (Compare *Ov. Met.* XV. 34 and *Fast.* I. 327.) Ll. 40-1 of the same fragment are translated, 'For the rest, Acontius, it will be her business to go with thee to her own Dionysias.' But the lady was already in Naxos. (Compare ll. 38-9.) The text is very doubtful, but seems to mean 'It will be thy duty to follow her,' etc.¹ In the *Iambi* the sadly mutilated condition of the lines has not deterred Professor Mair from some bold attempts at reconstruction. Certainty is, of course, out of the question, but his suggestions must come very near to what the poet wrote. Compare, for example, the provisional restoration on p. 274.

Though we imagine that future lexicographers will cite the new fragments of Callimachus according to the edition of Pfeiffer and not to that of Mair, there can be no doubt that the latter has done Greek scholarship a valuable service in making the representative poet of the Hellenistic age thus easily accessible to English readers.

LYCOPHRON.

In the same volume of the Loeb Library Professor Mair has also given us a text and translation of Lycophron's *Alexandra*. It is a curious coincidence that an edition² of the same poem by Professor Mooney should have been published some ten months before the appearance of the Loeb volume. Professor Mair's edition is not planned on quite so large a scale as is the earlier book; in particular there is no *Apparatus Criticus* (except for a note on l. 1022)

and in several passages, e.g. l. 233, l. 374, l. 708, l. 988, l. 1000, l. 1157, emendations of the MSS. are inserted without any indication that they are emendations. Generally speaking the text is on conservative lines—perhaps unduly so. For instance, the reading of the MSS. at l. 262, l. 367, l. 1254, l. 1273, in each case retained by Mair, can scarcely be accepted. The notes are very useful so far as they go, and will enable the reader to pick his way through the labyrinth of the *Alexandra*, but often the enforced economy of space conceals problems of some complexity, e.g. l. 461 (*άλτα*), l. 730 (*Ἀρης*), l. 1021 (*Μυλάκων*).

There is a good introduction on Lycophron's life and works with a discussion of the disputed passages of the *Alexandra*, viz. ll. 1226-1280 and ll. 1446-1450 (Professor Mair apparently agrees with Corssen in regarding them as genuine), a full account of the manuscripts and scholia, and a short bibliography.

ARATUS.

Finally, the same volume of the Loeb Library contains the *Phaenomena* and *Weather Signs* (*Διοσημύλαι*) of Aratus edited by Mr. G. R. Mair. The two poems are really one, as the editor points out on p. 378. It is, perhaps, rather difficult nowadays to be enthusiastic about Aratus, and we are inclined to wonder at the popularity which his poem enjoyed throughout antiquity. Mr. Tarn suggests³ that Aratus' real aim was to bring out the Stoic doctrine of providence, and there is much to be said for this view, but the riddle is not thereby completely solved. Be that as it may, a convenient English edition of the poems has long been needed, and Mr. Mair's work is very welcome. All students of Aratus owe a heavy debt to the labours of E. Maass; Mr. Mair, as is clear from his constant references, has a just appreciation of this scholar's work. His text appears to be practically identical with that of Maass' edition, but this really means that both prefer not to accept emendations save in the last resort. Mr. Mair's introduc-

¹ Compare *Ov. Her.* XXI. 243: *cetera cura tua est* (cited by Pfeiffer).

² Reviewed in *Class. Rev.* XXXVI., pp. 36-7.

³ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 228-9.

tion is exceptionally full and thorough, and the notes to the text leave very little to be desired. While the list of parallel passages from other authors does not attempt to be exhaustive like that of Maass, it is quite sufficient for

purposes of illustration. At the end of the volume are two maps, one of the Northern and one of the Southern Hemisphere, to which, we imagine, the reader will turn not infrequently.

E. A. BARBER.

PINDARICA.

Nemeans II. 10-12:

ἔστι δ' εὐκός
δρεῖάν γε Πελειάδων
μὴ τηλόθεν Ὀαρίωνα νείσθαι.

These famous lines are generally taken to be retrospective: to furnish a symbolic justification for the preceding prophecies of Isthmian and Pythian victories. Mr. Sheppard, in the course of a paper¹ read before the Cambridge Philological Society on February 22, 1922, suggested that in fact Pindar here hints at that crowning triumph which he does not name—a victory at Olympia. The object of this note is to reaffirm some of Mr. Sheppard's arguments and to add certain others which he did not use. In the earlier part of this ode Pindar has treated Isthmian and Pythian victories (with unusual boldness) as Timodemus' hereditary right. His Nemean success is a mere 'payment on account' (*καταβολάν* l. 4; cf. Postgate in *Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.*, 1906, p. 4). To speak thus of Olympia also would be impossibly presumptuous, especially as Timodemus' family had won no Olympic victories, and Pindar passes into symbolic language. Then, the hint once dropped, he veers sharply to a different theme.

Bury connects the Pleiades with the seven Nemean victories of Timodemus' family mentioned at the end of the ode. I doubt if there is any such definite point; if there is, *δρεῖάν* is perhaps more suggestive of the Pythian games just mentioned—held, as Pindar says in l. 19, *παρὰ . . . ὑψιμέδοντι Παρνασσῷ*. But the main point is the picture of

the lesser constellation followed by the greater. The important figure is Orion. Starting from Orion, Pindar could only choose in this simile between the Hyades and the Pleiades. The pattern of the sky makes this inevitable. The Pleiades, though a little farther off, are much the more striking of these two constellations, and they were popularly believed to be fleeing from Orion. In this and in every other respect they exactly suit Pindar's purpose. Famous and lovely as they are, they are a petty group: in Aratus' words *ὀλίγαι καὶ ἀφεργέες, ἀλλ' ὀνομασταί* (Arat. 264). Very different is Orion. He is a perfect symbol for an Olympic victory; too perfect to symbolise any meaner glory. When he lived, as Homer tells us, and Pindar (l. 3. 67) does not forget, he was the tallest and loveliest that Earth ever bred; and in heaven his constellation is of all by far the greatest and most splendid:

maximus Orion, magnumque amplexus Olympum,
quo fulgente super terras caelumque trahente
ementita diem nigras nox contrahit alas.

Manilius' words (V. 58 ff.) recall the opening of the First Olympian:

μηκέθ' ἄλλον σκόπει
ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἀμέρᾳ φαεννὸν ἄστρον ἐρήμας δι'
αἰθέρος,
μηδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν.

Still closer to these lines—indeed, almost an echo of them—are Aratus' words on Orion (323 ff.):

μη κείνον ὅτις καθαρῇ ἐν νυκτί
ὕψου πεπτηῶτα παρέρχεται ἄλλα πεποῖθοι
οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδὼν προφερέστερα θηήσεσθαι.

The order² in which Pindar speaks of the *ἱεροὶ ἀγῶνες* in the five strophes of

¹ An abstract of Mr. Sheppard's paper appeared in the *Cambridge University Reporter* of May 23, 1922. He argues chiefly from the pattern of the hymn, and does not discuss the significance of the choice of Orion. He accepts Bury's view of the symbolic meaning of the Pleiades.

² Most of the points made in the rest of this note have been anticipated by Mr. Sheppard; but as the whole of the note was written without conscious recollection of Mr. Sheppard's paper I have left it untouched.

this ode is significant. In the first two we have Nemea, Isthmia, Pythia; in the last two Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea. In the third, the centre of the ode, stands Orion, *magni pars maxima caeli*. This scheme explains the perfunctory dismissal of the family's Athenian victories in l. 23, where Christ's punctuation (accepted by Schroeder) must be right:

ἐπὶ δ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ—τὰ δ' οἶκοι μάσσον' ἀριθμοῦ—
Διὸς ἀγῶνι.

The local successes could not be ignored, but they must not confuse the picture; and the association of Nemea with Zeus is thrown into brilliant relief at the end of the ode. It is not for nothing that this association is emphasised at the opening also. Pindar opens with the rhapsodes 'who begin with Zeus.' If Theocritus (XVII. 1) echoes their tradition, the rhapsodes also closed with Zeus: ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι. Pindar, at all events, like Theocritus, is careful to return to Zeus at the close of the poem. Timodemus is compared to the rhapsodes because he had begun with Zeus (at Nemea). He is certain of association with Poseidon (at the Isthmus) and with Apollo (at Delphi); if he, too, is to close with Zeus, we know that it can only be at Olympia. The unusual connexion of Pelops with the Isthmia (in l. 21), which has puzzled the critics, may be another hint of the same kind.

The scholiast on l. 1 (Abel, p. 51, 8) perhaps preserves traces of a similar interpretation: ἐλπίς οὖν, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ἀπὸ Διὸς αὐτὸν ἀρξάμενον τῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα νικήσειν· ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο εὐθέως· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Νεμεακὴν νίκην ἐστεφανοῦτο τὰ Ὀλύμπια. In any case, the fact (which we have no reason to doubt) that Timodemus did, not long afterwards, conquer at Olympia is important. Pindar sometimes prophesied Olympic victories which never came; he even contrived to congratulate his patrons (as in *Nem.* VI. and X.) on Olympic victories which they *might* have won. That Timodemus was a pancratiast of the very first class must have been obvious already to good judges. It was clearly obvious to Pindar, who claims him as a certain Pythian

victor. For such a man, how could he fail at least to hint at Olympia?

Nemean III. 34 (of Peleus):

ὅς καὶ Ἰωλκὸν εἶλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς.

Why this insistence on the absence of an *army*? Pherecydes, says the scholiast, relates that Peleus was helped by Jason and the Tyndaridae; and Apollodorus (3. 13. 7), probably following Pherecydes, confirms this detail, and goes on to speak definitely of Peleus' *army*. Some scholars (Bloch, for instance, in Roscher) have emphasised the contrast between Pindar and Apollodorus on this particular point; but no one, I think, has pointed out that Pindar has deliberately chosen his phrase in order to refute, without mentioning it, a story familiar to his hearers, but discreditable to his hero.

That story, as Apollodorus tells it, needs here no further comment: Πηλεὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Ἰάσονι καὶ Διοσκούροις ἐπόρθησεν Ἰωλκόν, καὶ Ἀστυδάμειαν τὴν Ἀκάστου γυναικα φονεύει, καὶ διελὼν μεληδὸν διήγαγε δι' αὐτῆς τὸν στρατὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

Nemean IX. 22 (of the army led by the Seven against Thebes):

Ἰσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκὴν νόστον ἐρείσάμενοι λευκανθέα σώμασιν ἐπίαναν καπνόν.

{ ἐρείσάμενοι B σώματα Schol.
{ ἐρυσάμενοι D

The metre of σώμασιν ἐπίαναν requires correction, and editors either accept the scholiast's σώματα or read σώμασι πίαναν.

No satisfactory sense has ever been suggested for ἐρείσάμενοι; Fennell's 'having set fast on Ismenos' banks delightful return,' and Bury's 'having laid down their longings for sweet home,' seem almost impossible. Nor can much be made of Hermann's ἐρυσάμενοι. Most corrections that make good sense (ὀλεσάμενοι, ἀπουράμενοι, ἀμερσάμενοι, etc.) are palaeographically improbable; and Herwerden's ἐρυκόμενοι is unattractive. From the scholiast's paraphrase τὴν οἶκον ἀνακομιδὴν ἀπέθεντο it is generally inferred that he read ἐρείσάμενοι, and interpreted it on the same lines as Fennell and Bury.

I suggest ἐρυσάμενοι, and I would take λευκανθέα not (as all editors do)

with σώματα or καπνόν, but with νόστον, translating thus:

'But on the banks of Ismenus they dyed them the white splendour of sweet home-coming red, and as corpses' (or 'with their corpses') 'they fattened smoke.'

ἐρεύθω is not used elsewhere by Pindar, but it occurs once (almost certainly) in Bacchylides (12. 152) and twice in the *Iliad*; in all three cases it has the special meaning of *dyeing the earth red with blood*. In Bacchylides it is intransitive (ἐρ[ε]υθε . . . αἵματι γαῖα μέλαινα), but in the *Iliad* it is transitive: 11. 394 ὁ δέ θ' αἵματι γαῖαν ἐρεύθων | πύθεται, and 18. 329 ἄμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι | αὐτοῦ ἐν Τροίῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νοστήσαντα | δέξεται ἐν μεγάροισι γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς | οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ γαῖα καθέξει. I suspect that this last passage was in Pindar's mind; its general resemblance to these lines of the Ninth Nemean actually led Dissen to quote it in illustration of them. As a passive of ἐρεύθω, in the same sense, ἐρυθαίνομαι occurs twice in the *Iliad*: 10. 484 ἐρυθαίνετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα, 21. 21 ἐρυθαίνετο δ' αἵματι ὕδωρ. Neither ἐρεύθω nor ἐρυθαίνω occurs elsewhere in Homer.

With the reading ἐρευσάμενοι, the word λευκανθέα gets by contrast a new and striking point. Its effect, after γλυκὺν νόστον ἐρευσάμενοι, is to make the phrase at once less startling and more vivid: for the positions of the two adjectives we may compare *Ol.* 2. 60 βαθεῖαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέραν. In itself νόστος λευκανθής is not a surprising expression. νόστιμος suggests the νόστιμον ἡμῶν of the *Odyssey* and Aeschylus' νόστιμον φάος, and we may compare such phrases as Sophocles' λευκὴν ἡμέραν (*frag.* 6), in the sense of 'a lucky day.' The verb λευκανθίζω means in Herodotus (8. 27) 'to gleam white' (of whitened armour in the dark); and Alciphron and Babrius both use the verb of snow-covered objects. In Sophocles' χροάζων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κάρα

(*O.T.* 742) the epithet may have been chosen to suggest the gleam of white hairs among the dark ones. The main significance of λευκανθέα, then, I take to be 'white-gleaming,' a sense which admirably continues the imagery of the immediately preceding words: φαίνομεναν δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἅταν σπεῦδεν ὁμιλος ἰκέσθαι | χαλκίοις ὀπλοισιν ἱππείοις τε σὺν ἔντεσιν. But the word may well contain an allusion to the *white shields* which the tragedians give the Argives, as Pearson, taking it with σώματα, suggested in *C.R.* 1891, p. 337. Tucker has pointed out, in his note on Aeschylus, *Septem* 90 (quoting Pindar, *Pyth.* 8. 46, Bacchylides 8. 10, and the descriptions in the *Septem*), that white shields were associated with the Argive rank and file rather than with the chiefs; but it is of the whole army that Pindar here speaks, as ὁμιλος in l. 21 and ἐπτά . . . πυραί in l. 24 clearly show. Of the Seven, indeed, several were not Argives at all.

The Ninth Nemean plays more than once on the theme of blood, especially in l. 28 φοινικοστόλων ἐγγέων (however we spell the adjective) and l. 38 φόνου παρποδίου νεφέλαν. Both phrases occur in lines metrically corresponding to those under discussion. It may be added that ll. 39 ff., which describe Hector on the banks of Scamander and Chromius on the banks of Helorus, are a manifest pendant to the description of the Argives on the banks of Ismenus; and that the phrases Ἐκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι and δέδορκεν παιδὶ τοῦθ' Ἀγησιδάμου φέγγος gain in force if they are felt as echoes of νόστον λευκανθέα. This effect is lost if λευκανθέα is taken with σώματα or καπνόν.

The aorist of ἐρεύθω seems to occur only in *Iliad* 18. 329, so that ἐρευσάμενοι might well puzzle the scribes. The two obvious alterations to familiar forms are those which the MSS. actually give—ἐρευσάμενοι and ἐρυσάμενοι.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

ULPIAN AND A GALATIAN INSCRIPTION.

It is well known that the Galatians, although they imposed their language and some form of tribal organisation on the Phrygian and Cappadocian populations among whom they settled as a ruling caste, have left little distinctive trace of their civilisation on the Graeco-Roman epigraphy of Galatia. If the history of central Asia Minor had to be reconstructed from the Galatian inscriptions alone, the only evidence for a Galatian civilisation would be the cantonal nomenclature of the three principal cities,¹ a single cult epithet,² and the names of a number of Celts who played a leading part in the political, municipal, and religious organisation of the country.³ Yet there is a considerable amount of evidence scattered about in the literature of the Roman Empire that the Galatians maintained throughout the Imperial period a social system quite distinct from that of their Graeco-Anatolian neighbours, and similar to that of the Celts of Gaul. Especially instructive is a comparison of Caesar's statement⁴ that among the Gauls of the West 'uiri in uxores sicuti in liberos uitae necisque habent potestatem' with that of Gaius⁵ that the *patria potestas* (foreign to Graeco-Asiatic law) existed in Galatia. Mommsen suggested that Gaius may have been led to make this observation by the fact that the Galatians sold their children as slaves.⁶ A quotation from Ulpian preserved in the *Digest*, together with a Galatian inscription, enables us to trace a further correspondence between the legal custom of the Gauls and that of the Galatians.

The following inscription was copied by the writer in 1910 in a Turkish cemetery beside the road to Asi Yozgad, 9 km. east of Angora. It was carved

on the front of a *bomos*, under a garland in relief:

ΔΙΟΓΝΗΤΑ ΤΕΚΤΟΜΑΡΟ
ΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙΟΝ ΓΑΙΟΥ ΙΔΙΟΝ ΑΝ-
ΔΡΑ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΕ-
ΣΘΗΣΕΝ ΒΩΜΟΝ ΕΚ ΠΕΚΟ(Υ)-
ΛΙΟ ΜΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

Διογνήτα Τεκτομάρο[υ]
Στατείλιον Γαίου Ἰδίου ἀν-
δρα τελευτήσαντος ἀνέ-
σθησεν βωμόν ἐκ πεκο(υ)-
λίου μνήμης χάριν

On the text of this inscription we need only observe that Τεκτομάρο[υ], not -μάρο[υ]s, is the usual form of the genitive in Celtic names, and that the symbol at the end of line 4 is an abbreviation mark. The engraver first wrote the word *peculium* in abbreviation, then changed his mind and completed the word, omitting the *upsilon*.

Diogneta is the daughter of a Galatian, and her husband Statilius, son of Gaius, is doubtless a Galatian. In a Galatian inscription published by Anderson in *J.H.S.* XIX., p. 81, a Gaius is the father of Barbollas, Vastex, and Helios; and a Statilius is the father of a *ἱκέτης καὶ ὑπηρετῶν* of Zeus Busurigos, mentioned above.⁷

The syntax of the inscription is faulty. Had we found *τελευτήσαντα* in place of the genitive, the inscription would exemplify a formula common in central Asia Minor, in which the name of the monument is put in the accusative after *ἀνέστησεν*, etc., in apposition to the name of the deceased.⁸ Rather than take *τελευτήσαντος* as a genitive absolute, we should recognise in it an example of the common confusion of genitive and dative in inscriptions of this region and period. The inscription is indeed a mixture of two formulae, *ἀνέστησε τῷ δεῖνι βωμόν* and *ἀνέστησε τὸν δεῖνα βωμόν*. Clearly Greek was not the mother-tongue of this Galatian lady. Her inscription cannot be dated accurately; it is hardly earlier than the middle of the second century, nor is it

¹ Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 136 ff.

² Anderson in *J.H.S.*, 1910, p. 163 ff. (Zeus Bussurigos).

³ Enumerated by Stähelin, *Gesch. der Kleinas. Galater*, p. 109 ff.

⁴ *Bell. Gall.* VI. 19.

⁵ *Inst.* I. 55: 'nec me praeterit Galatarum gentem credere in potestate parentum liberos esse.'

⁶ *Berliner Festgaben für Beseler*, p. 268, quoted by Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, p. 24.

⁷ Another Statilius in Perrot, *Expl. de la Gal.* I., p. 280. A Diognetos, Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.*, 533, 31.

⁸ Examples are collected in Ramsay, *Stud. in E. R. Prov.*, p. 278; cf. *J.R.S.* II., p. 81.

likely to be later than about A.D. 250, when the use of the 'praenomen' Aurelius became almost universal in inner Asia Minor.

The extract from Ulpian, referred to above, looks as if it had been providentially preserved to serve one day as a comment on our inscription. Ulpian is writing 'de iure dotium,' and after discussing property handed over 'dotis causa,' he goes on to say: 'ceterum si res dentur in ea quae Graeci παράφερνα dicunt, quaeque Galli *peculium* appellant, uideamus an statim efficiuntur mariti.'¹ Mommsen's emendation of *Galli* to *alii* was rightly rejected by Mitteis,² whom we may confidently follow in taking Ulpian to refer to the Gauls of the West. He sees in the contemptuous 'peculium' a reference to the *Vermögensunfähigkeit* of the wife in Gaul, as hinted at in the passage from Caesar quoted above. His assumption appears to be that the Gauls took over the Latin word *peculium* and used it in a new sense. But it is more probable that *peculium* in the sense of παράφερνα is (as Gothofredus thought) an endemic Gallic word, and that it was derived, like the Latin *peculium*, from the period of Italo-Celtic linguistic community. That the Gauls had a legal language of their own is proved by the well-known passage in Ulpian ('fidei commissa quocumque sermone relinqui possunt, non solum Latina vel Graeca, sed etiam Punica vel Gallicana vel alterius cuiuscumque gentis'³), in which *fidei commissa* are excepted from the rule that all legal documents must be drawn up in Latin or in Greek. Only on the assumption that *peculium* is an old Gallic word can we explain its appearance, in its Gallic sense, in Galatia. The *form* of the word was no doubt assimilated to the Latin form, as must have been the case with many Gallic words.

Ulpian's definition of the Gallic *peculium* in terms of the Greek παράφερνα carries us into the realm of Graeco-Asiatic law, on which much light has been thrown in recent years by papyri and inscriptions. But before we pass to the East we must complete

our account of the Gallic *peculium* by noting the omission of any reference to it in Caesar's account of marriage settlements in Gaul. 'uiri,' he says, 'quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestimatione facta cum dotibus communicant. Huius omnis pecuniae coniunctim ratio habetur fructusque seruantur; uter eorum uita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum peruenit.'⁴

The Gallic custom was that bride and bridegroom contributed equal amounts to a capital sum, all of which, with the accumulated interest, passed to the survivor. Clearly this is not the *peculium* of which Diogneta speaks in our inscription. For the explanation of the term we must enquire into the meaning of παράφερνα given by Ulpian as its Greek equivalent. The παράφερνα constituted a regular element in marriage settlements in the eastern provinces. Mitteis⁵ finds its Syrian equivalent in the *zebdæ* mentioned by Gregory Barhebraeus, who describes the constituents in a marriage settlement as *pherne*, *dorum*, *zebdæ*, and *schiadche*. In the Latin translation of Alois Assemani,⁶ the *pherne* is described as 'id quod in domum uiri sui defert mulier per scripturam e domo dominorum suorum'; the *dorum* (Greek δωρεά) as 'id quod offert uir mulieri suae aut promittit ei per scripturam'; the *zebdæ* as 'monilia et supellex, quae sine scriptura dant parentes eius' (of the bride). The *schiadche*, which corresponds to the Roman *arrha sponsalicia*, does not concern us here.

Mitteis points out that this description of the *zebdæ* applies exactly to the παράφερνα mentioned as a regular feature in Graeco-Egyptian marriage contracts of the Roman Imperial period, with the difference that the παράφερνα are always included in the written contract. We need not follow Mitteis into his discussion of the Egyptian φέρνη and παράφερνα and their relation to the

⁴ *Bell. Gall.* VI. 19. Did the 'pecuniae . . . dotis nomine acceptae' include the *peculium*, or was the *peculium* a separate item, passed over by Caesar as unimportant?

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 266 f.

⁶ A. Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, X., p. 70.

¹ *Dig.* XXIII. 3, 9.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

³ *Dig.* XXXII. 11 pr.

donatio propter nuptias; it is sufficient to note that the *παράφερνα* (whencesoever derived, and whatever its object) consisted of property which was distinct from the *φέρνη* proper, and belonged in a special sense to the bride. Mitteis notes that the detailed lists of *παράφερνα* in the Egyptian contracts consist of dress and ornaments which only the bride would use.

Strangely enough, we have a clear reference to the *παράφερνα* of the Graeco-Asiatic marriage settlement in an inscription of the province Galatia, which has been known since 1888, but which appears to have escaped the notice of Mitteis. It belongs to Anabura, on the border of Galatic Phrygia and Pisidia, and is probably to be dated about A.D. 250.¹ This inscription is No. 328 in Sterrett's *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*. In order to show its bearing on our discussion, it is necessary to reproduce the text in full:

Ἀναβουρέων ὁ δῆμος Αὐρήλιον Βιάνορα Ἀττάλου νέον Βιάνορος Τηλεμάχου ἑγγονον φιλόπατριν ἐκ προγόνων καὶ εὐεργέτην πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἔνεκεν· τὸν δὲ ἀνδριαντα Αὐρ. Ἀμμία Ἀττάλου ἱερέως ἢ σύμβιτος αὐτοῦ φιλανδρίας χάριν καὶ στοργῆς ἀμειψήτου ἐκ τῶν τῆς προικὸς ἰδίων.

The δῆμος of Anabura had passed a resolution conferring on Aurelius Bianor the honour of having his statue erected in a public place. It was a common practice in such cases for the man so honoured, or a relative, to bear the cost

¹ The theory stated by Ramsay in *H.G.A.M.*, p. 397, regarding the relation of Anabura to Neapolis would place the inscription, which mentions Anabura, before A.D. 75; but Ramsay has withdrawn this theory in *A.B.S.A.* IX., p. 250 f. The name Aurelius, as used in the text, points to the third century.

of the monument; in this case the wife of Bianor, Ammia, defrayed the cost of the statue ἐκ τῶν τῆς προικὸς ἰδίων. The phrase clearly points to a division of the dowry into two parts, one of which was the wife's own property; and, equally clearly, the *ἴδια* here must be explained as the *παράφερνα* of the Egyptian marriage contracts.² There is, of course, no question in this region of Galatian national custom; Anabura was in the province Galatia till A.D. 295, but the province was a loose aggregate of territories, of which only the central portion was inhabited by Galatians. The legal system in force at Anabura was the Graeco-Asiatic amalgam of provincial custom and Greek law which had grown up under the rule of the Seleucids, and was taken over with little modification by the Romans. We need have the less hesitation in identifying the *ἴδια τῆς προικὸς* with a standing element in the marriage contracts of Egypt and Syria.

Ammia of Anabura disposes of her *παράφερνα* during the lifetime of her husband. Diogneta of Ancyra disposes of her *peculium* (which was, accordingly, at least part of the widow's portion) after her husband's death. Neither inscription throws any light on the disposal of the dowry proper. If we are not yet in a position either to affirm or to deny that the Galatian marriage contract differed from the Graeco-Anatolian, we may be allowed to suspect that in the *πεκούλιον* the Gallograeci carried more than a Gallic word into Asia Minor. W. M. CALDER.

² Was *προίξ* a general term including *φέρνη* and *παράφερνα*?

ARISTOPHANES, *FROGS*, 1203.

PARODY of poetry may take almost as many forms as poetry itself. If a poet is harmonious, make him jingle or jangle; if he is weighty, make him lumber; if he is leisurely, make him lollop; if he is rapid, make him rattle along like a pauper's funeral. Put your sneers at him in his own diction and style. Take his most sonorous metres and apply them to trivial words. Borrow his phrases with a difference: debase their elegance into slang, dilute their

conciseness into verbiage, distract their melody into prose run mad.

Some of these modes of parody can be illustrated from lines 100-102 of the *Frogs*. Dionysus, who is (in Verrall's words) 'a sort of average Athenian ass,' complains that since the death of Euripides he can't find a single true-born poet who will come out with something venturesome like X or Y or Z. X, Y and Z are garbled quotations from Euripides, but the garbling is of different

kinds. *Χρόνου πόδα* is a partial quotation; it sins by omission. In *αἰθέρα Διὸς δωμάτιον* the thing is done by a mischievous substitution; for *οἴκησιν*, 'abode,' is put 'lodgings,' 'the *keeping-room* of Zeus.' More elaborate is the third item. The victim is the famous line in the *Hippolytus*,

ἡ γλῶσσ' δμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος,

a simple but stately line; not a word wasted, not a word too humble for poetry nor too lofty for prose, for even *ἀνώμοτος* is good Demosthenes. How has Aristophanes worked his wicked will upon it? For its strict economy of words he substitutes an exuberant verbosity—two lines for one, thirteen words for seven. For the dignity and grace of its rhythm he has substituted a wild riot of trisyllabic feet, tumbled together so that they only just scan.

Professor Tucker is puzzled: 'Commentators do not appear to have noted the form and rhythm of the present line, which are very different from those of the verse in the *Hippolytus*, and, indeed, only just escape not making a verse at all. It looks as if there were some other passage in the mind of Aristophanes.'

But all its differences from its original are to the point. Aristophanes, while reproducing the purport, has made the diction and metre as unlike as he could. I have not thought of a parallel passage in the light literature of English, but parallels are easy to make. Take a famous couplet of Tennyson's and translate it into Johnsonese:

Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.

A philanthropic disposition is preferable to the insignia of nobility, and an ingenuous piety to an extensive and authentic pedigree.

Would anyone object that the one sentence cannot be a travesty of the other because one is prose and the other verse; one short and simple, the other turgid and verbose? Yet the two differ even more than the line of Euripides and the two lines of Aristophanes, for the latter are after all lines, and iambic lines. To make fun of few and simple words Aristophanes has turned them into verbiage. To make fun of a verse of the strictest tragic pattern, he has stretched the license even of his own

loose trimeters until they are on the very verge of prose. The metrical travesty, like the verbal, is designed, and counts upon hearers able to take a point of metre. That the niceties of metre interested others besides poets we might safely assume, even if we lacked the evidence of the dialogue between Socrates and Strepsiades in the *Clouds*.

So much by way of preface to lines 1198-1204 of the *Frogs*:

A. καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δι' οὐ κατ' ἔπος γέ σου κνίσω
τὸ ῥῆμ' ἑκαστον, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖσιν θεοῖς
ἀπὸ ληκυθίου σου τοὺς προλόγους διαφθερῶ.
E. ἀπὸ ληκυθίου σὺ τοὺς ἔμούς; A. ἐνὸς μόνου.
ποιεῖς γὰρ οὕτως ὥστ' ἐναρμώττειν ἅπαν,
καὶ κωδάριον καὶ ληκύθιον καὶ θυλάκιον,
ἐν τοῖς λαμβέλοισι. δέλω δ' αὐτίκα.

The chief use of the *ληκύθιον* is to be tied on to some half-lines of Euripides in derision of a certain sameness in the syntactical structure of the opening lines of his plays. The reason for the choice of that word and that utensil is obscure and perhaps unseemly. Be that as it may, before it is put to its chief use it is made to serve another turn. 'For you write in such a way that anything fits in, bolster and beer-bottle and brown-paper-bag.' When the Aeschylus of Aristophanes chooses such homely objects, in the colloquial diminutive, he is hitting by the way at one or two other things which he despised in Euripides: the supposed sordidness of some of his situations, and the simplicity of his diction in some passages where, by a less hostile critic, Euripides might be thought to show his highest art.

At the end of the sentence come the words *ἐν τοῖς λαμβέλοισι*. Why are they there at all, and why so late?

The commentators are silent; of the translators, Mr. Rogers misses the words, Mr. Gilbert Murray slurs them:

You write them so that nothing comes amiss,
The bed-quilt, or the umbrella, or the clothes-
bag,
All suit your tragic verse!

If Aeschylus means that—if these words merely reinforce the general charge of sordidness—why not *ἐν ταῖς τραγυδαῖσι*? Why should iambs, of all the metres of tragedy, be singled out? For words drawn from common and domestic life, if they are to have

any place in tragedy at all, are presumably more appropriate to the dialogue than to the lyric parts, so that to specify iambs is to weaken, instead of strengthening, the force of the charge.

If Aeschylus, who is to make fun of the syntax of Euripides, has a fling in passing at his situations and his diction, it is conceivable that the same stone was meant to hit yet another mark.

ιαμβείοισι is a term of metre. Let us consider the metre of the passage.

1203 has a tribrach in the sixth foot. In Menander, the only other comic poet who is extant in manuscripts of his own, the sixth tribrach is not found. From the fragments of the Middle and the New Comedy Professor Tucker adduces five examples of it. In Antiph. 'Αρχ. 3 *φιδίτια* or *φιλίτια* gives a fifth tribrach instead of a sixth; in Eubul. 'Αμάλθ. 9 the attested reading is *δελ-φάκι*, and a Sophoclean elision between lines is conceivable; another such elision is possible in Diph. 'Απλ. 2; the context of 'Anon. 40' (Kock's *Adesp.* 341) points to Porson's *θύλακον*; and in Ar. *Ach.* 777 the sixth tribrach is not given by R or by recent texts. Even if some of the examples from later comedy are sound, they do not prove that the sixth tribrach commended itself to Aristophanes.

In Aristophanes a sixth tribrach is given by all the manuscripts nowhere except in the present scene of the *Frogs*. Each time that Aeschylus claps on his *ληκύθιον* *ἀπώλεσεν* Euripides and Dionysus exchange remarks, most of which contain either *τὸ ληκύθιον* or *ἡ λήκυθος*. The feminine noun occurs unmistakably four times—in 1214, 1224, 1227, 1234. The neuter occurs unmistakably thrice—in 1209, 1221, 1246. In 1216 R has *ληκύθιον*, V and the rest have *λήκυθον*. In 1231 all the manuscripts have *ληκύθιον*. Both in 1216 and in 1231 the diminutive gives a sixth tribrach (or anapaest). In 1216, where the manuscripts differ, the editors prefer the normal foot. In 1231, where the manuscripts agree, the editors differ. Seeing that both the feminine and the neuter are well established in the context, neither of these sixth tribrachs is secure.

But in 1203 the sixth tribrach holds

firm. Whatever else he may or may not be at, Aeschylus is clearly choosing words which will serve just as well as *ληκύθιον* for the tag; and *κωδάριον* *ἀπώλεσεν* will serve, or *θυλάκιον* *ἀπώλεσεν*, but not *θύλακον* *ἀπώλεσεν*. Moreover, *θύλακον* would spoil the trio of diminutives, and it would make the third noun unequal to the other two in another respect besides that of form, for, as the scholiast says, '*κωδάριον* is a trumpery thing, not so *θύλακον*; but if one forms the diminutive, *θυλάκιον*, it will serve.' Hence *θύλακον* will not do for 1203, and *θυλάκιον* (a desperate remedy), though it will scan in 1203, will not scan in the tag.

This line, then, has a certain sixth tribrach, the only one in Aristophanes. But that is only a part of the metrical strangeness of the line. Not only does it fall into three dipodies quantitatively identical (so does 755), but it can be scanned anapaestically, and, apart from its context, would inevitably be so scanned.¹ Here, then, is a metrical oddity such as the words *ἐν τοῖς ιαμβείοισι* tell us to look for.

It is not for nothing that Catullus (LXIV. 141) inserts amid normal hexameters one which is also a glyconic and a pherecratean,

*sed conubia laeta, sed
optatos hymenaeos,*

and it is not for nothing that Virgil follows his lead (*Aen.* IV. 316),

*per conubia nostra, per
inceptos hymenaeos.*

It cannot be for nothing that Aristophanes has inserted amid iambs a line which is not iambic at all, except by courtesy and neighbourhood, but anapaestic.

If the Aeschylus of Aristophanes wished to sneer at Euripides for his metrical handling of iambs, on what would he be likely to fasten? In some respects, as with regard to the caesura, Euripides is stricter than Aeschylus or Sophocles; nor did he adopt the chief innovation of Sophocles—the frequent blurring of the division between line and line. But in the issue between Aeschylus and Euripides Sophocles sits

¹ *Wasps* 978 cannot, though it has five anapaests.

out. Between Aeschylus and Euripides the main difference is in the use of trisyllabic feet, especially the anapaest.

As to trisyllabic feet in general, the facts are pretty well known. Aeschylus varies from play to play, but in no play are such feet commoner than one in seven lines. Euripides used them sparingly at first, but all his plays after the four earliest show ratios higher than the highest in Aeschylus or Sophocles: from one in six or seven lines to the climax in the *Orestes*, one in two.

Two trisyllabic feet in a line are found about 7 times in Aeschylus, about 26 times in Sophocles, over 300 times in Euripides (in the *Orestes* alone about 80).

Three in a line are never found in Aeschylus, only twice in Sophocles, but in Euripides over 20 times (in the *Orestes* alone 14).

Now the *Orestes* was probably the last of our plays of Euripides to be performed in Athens before the *Frogs*. The *Orestes*, and any plays that may have appeared with it, would be the pieces by which his reputation would be tried, and on which ridicule could most effectively fasten, in a comedy produced a few months after his death.

Besides the great difference between Aeschylus and Euripides in the frequency of trisyllabic feet in general, a difference of degree, there is also a difference of kind.

It is well known that Sophocles and Euripides admitted anapaests into the feet between the first and the last of the iambic trimeter, though only for the benefit of polysyllabic proper names, a limitation which does not apply to the first anapaest in any of the three poets; but it is less familiar that in the trimeters of Aeschylus, apart from the first foot, anapaests are very few or none. An example is thought to occur in the *Septem*, 569; but as *Ἀμφιάρεω* must lose one of its syllables by synizesis, so it may well be robbed of another by suppressing the iota, as we suppress the first iota of *Διάνειρα* wherever that name occurs in the trimeters of the *Trachiniae*. Another example is seen by some in the *Persae*, 321; but though the first vowel of *Ἀριόμαρδος* is long in the opening ana-

paestics of the play, Aeschylus may well have varied its quantity, even as the third vowel of *Ἀρτεμίδης* is long in the anapaestic dimeter 29, but short in the iambic trimeter 302. A more likely example than either of these, but yet not certain, is in the *Prometheus*, 840, where, since Prometheus is playing upon the name *Ἰώ*, the first vowel of *Ἰόνιος* should for choice be long; yet most readers take it to be short. Thus it is not certain that Aeschylus ever uses an anapaest in any foot later than the first.

To me it is clear that anapaests in the later feet were no part of his scheme of the metre. Is it an accident that in all his seven plays only one *dramatis persona*, *Ἀντιγόνη*, has a name so shaped that without such an anapaest (or a trochee in the first foot) she could not be named in iambs, and that, in fact, she is not named in iambs at all? Is it an accident that two of the seven assailants of Thebes, *Ἴππομέδων* and *Παρθενόπαιος*, who call out anapaests from Sophocles and Euripides, call out from Aeschylus not anapaests, but things that look like trochees in the first foot? I should rather suppose that the later anapaests were either unfamiliar or unpleasing to his ear.

About the practice of Sophocles, on the other hand, there is no doubt. Six of his seven plays have such anapaests, and he has about a score of them all told.

But it was left for Euripides to use this new freedom to the full. In the early group of four plays there are only two such anapaests, but afterwards he used them less sparingly. In the *Orestes* alone there are nineteen, and he has more than a hundred of them all told.

To the Aeschylus of Aristophanes so large a use of the later anapaests may well have seemed an excess and a fault. But this fault was not the main object of his attack upon Euripides. If this fault also was to be derided, it must be done briefly and by the way.

The simplest way to ridicule the metrical oddities of a poet is to copy them with words ludicrously inappropriate. But Aristophanes could not do quite that, for an excess of trisyllabic feet, and especially of anapaests, is the

most striking difference between his own trimeters and those of tragedy. What then?

I believe that he has scored the point in another way, by making his own iambic for the nonce more anapaestic than even his own practice allows, by being αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ἀναπαιστικώτατος. To point the contrast, the preceding line is of the strict tragic type, and whenever that happens in Aristophanes we have ground for suspecting that something is up.

It may be objected that the sixth foot of the line is not an anapaest but a tribrach, since the next line begins with a vowel. If the line were an anapaestic among anapaestics, the 'tribrach' would be unusual and suspicious. But since it is only a hyperanapaestic iambic after all, its last syllable may be allowed the benefit of the indifference of long and short syl-

lables at the end of the line. Indeed, J. W. White, who sees in the line nothing but an iambic, actually registers its sixth foot as an anapaest (*The Verse of Greek Comedy*, § 113).

These are my views of the passage. If I put them forward with diffidence, it is only because of the danger which besets all nice interpretations of metre, that they may

Set the feet above the brain and swear the brain is in the feet.

I have ventured on publication, however, because Professor W. Rhys Roberts has recently discussed this very line, well, but too briefly, in *C.R.*, XXXVI, 1922, p. 71. We agree, as far as he goes. If I have not confessed a debt to him, it is because my opinions were formed, and submitted to the Cambridge Philological Society, as long ago as 1914.

E. HARRISON.

VENUS CALVA AND VENUS CLOACINA.

1. *Venus Calva* (though G. Wissowa in his *Ges. Abh.* 132 f. denies her a place in Roman religion, and we look for her in vain in his famous *Religion und Kultus der Römer*) is too well proved by our sources and, in the view of modern comparative religion and folklore, too interesting a deity to be merely looked upon as a fiction.¹ Apart from the *locus classicus*, Serv. ad *Aen.* I. 720, we have to take into consideration scholiast B on Homer, *Il.* II. 820: 'Αφροδίτη ταύτης τὸ ἀγάλμα πλάττουσι κτένα φέρον, ἐπειδὴ συνέβη ποτὲ ταῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων γυναιξὶ κνήφην λοιμὴν γενέσθαι καὶ ξυρουμένων πασῶν γεγόνασιν αὐταῖς οἱ κτένες ἀχρεῖοι. εὐξάμεναι δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἀνατριχωθῆναι, τιμῆσαι τε αὐτὴν ἀγάλματι κτένα φέρουσαν καὶ γένειον ἔχουσαν, διότι καὶ ἄρρενα καὶ θήλεα ἔχει ὄργανα ταύτην γὰρ λέγουσιν ἔφορον πάσης γενέσεως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀσφύος καὶ ἄνω λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἄρρενα, τὰ δὲ κάτω θήλειαν. πλάττουσι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἔφιππον, ὅτι ὁ Αἰνείας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς, πλεύσας μέχρι τῆς δύσεως, μετὰ τοῦτο ἵππῳ ἐπέβη καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐτίμησε τοιοῦτῳ ἀγάλματι. The

scholium presupposes a statue of an androgynous Venus on horseback, wearing a beard and holding a comb. That this Venus is bald-headed we may suppose from the accompanying *aetium*, that the Roman women once shaved their heads in order to get rid of a scurfiness or some such disease of the hair. The scholium, moreover, implies a cult somewhere of an androgynous Venus-Aphrodite, in which hair and combs were dedicated to the deity of love; and the beard as well as the double sex no doubt further implies that Venus here is the deity of nuptials (cp. my *Opferritus* 356 and 365). The materials as to this masquerade of the bridegroom as the bride have, since Dümmler, been carefully collected and discussed by Frazer, Crawley, Nilsson, Deubner, etc. We need not insist upon this point here.

The closest parallel to this 'Venus with the comb' is the Juno with the scissors at Argos (see *Philologus*, 1913, 444). If the attribute of Iuno Martialis is a pair of scissors (so Roscher, *Juno und Hera* 49, with the illustration in his *Lexikon* II. 611, copied from Donaldson's *Archit. num.*), we have a similar

¹ Wissowa, *Realenc.* III. 1708.

Iuno Iuga (but *not* an eventual Iuno Obstetrix, as Roscher himself thought) of the Romans, certainly from the later times of Volusianus. Finally a coin of the Gens Calpurnia shows us a Iuno Barbata (Morell, *Thesaur. numism.*, pl. IV. 2, and A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* XIV. 168) from much older times. That these conceptions took root amongst the Romans we have therefore no reason to doubt. Some have found a similar usage of purely Roman origin in the cult of Mutunus Tutunus (*Fest.*, p. 142, Lindsay: *mulieres velatae togis praetextis solebant sacrificare*), but probably, as Wissowa says, this notice only means that the brides before the wedding used to sacrifice to M.T. in their old girl-dress before they put it aside. Also we hear of no Roman custom in which brides sacrificed their hair to Venus and dedicated their combs in her honour. We have therefore to suppose that such a statue (and eventually a cult) of Venus should be referred to Greek origin. Greek parallels are, as is well known, abundant. We know *e.g.* that the Thessalians offered plaits of hair to Poseidon: but the closest parallel to the first *aetium* mentioned by Serv. *l.c.* is the tale of Herakles and the Thracian women, Paus. VII. 5, 7 ff.: with a rope made of the hair of their wives, the Erythraeans drew ashore the float with the Tyrian image of Herakles (Herakles himself dedicated his hair to his dead favourite Sostratos at Dyme). Of course this Venus, like others, was connected by the Romans with their Aeneas, and out of an Aphrodite Ἐφύππιος (Hippodameia) grew a Venus Equestris. But nobody can doubt the real basis of the passages cited above from Servius and Schol. B. II. II. 820.

Now if we look more closely at the four explanations of Servius we shall strike out No. 3, *alii Calvam, quod corda amantium calviat, id est fallat atque eludat* (*sc. tradunt*), as a learned etymological device, based upon the character of Venus as a seducing deity of love. But the explanations No. 2, *Calvam Venerem quasi puram*, and No. 4, that Ancus erected a statue of Venus Calva as a *piaculum* for his wife (*quidam dicunt porrigine olim capillos cecidisse feminis . . .*

post omnibus feminis capilli renati sunt), are surely very appropriate.

We have only to remind ourselves of the Proitides and the rôle of Artemis in that connexion to see that the hair-cutting (-shaving) here really is a *rite de passage*, which purifies from physical and moral uncleanness accumulated in past life. To the instances commonly known I may add Aristotle *apud* Plut. *Cleom.* 9, where the Spartan ephors order the citizens to shave their moustaches and obey the laws ἵνα μὴ χαλεποὶ ὦσιν αὐτοῖς (the explanation in Roscher's *Lex. s.v.* Phobos, col. 2387, 4, is in my opinion false. On the other hand, *calvitium* as a rite of mourning is mentioned by Cic. *Tusc.* III. 62).

2. *Venus Cloacina*.—In order to understand this deity of the Cloaca Maxima in Rome, I think we must insist upon the value of Plin. *N.H.* XV. 119, *in eo loco qui nunc signa Veneris Cluacinae habet*. Surely Pliny must have had reasons to believe this Cluacina to be a Venus. Firstly, we have the notice in Lyd. *de mens.* IV. 45, under April 1, that the plebeian women bathed in the men's baths on that day adorned with wreaths of myrtle. 'Venus' in this case had very likely supplanted the Fortuna Virilis (Fowler, *Roman Festivals* 68 f.). Secondly, we know that Venus elsewhere was connected with baths and sewers (Krauss, *Talmud. Archaeol.* I. 218, with notes p. 674). At Akko as well as at Bostra in Palestine the baths were adorned with statues of Aphrodite; and we are told that at Akko the statue of an Aphrodite was placed directly on the sewers, and that people used to urinate before her. The combination of Venus and water is likely to be originally Italic, as Venus herself is an old Italic deity of growth and propagation (thus she is the patroness of the *holitores*). In the *Acta frat. Arv.* p. 148, Henzen, we have the combination Fons-Flora-Summanus, an obvious parallel to Aphrodite as protectress of baths. Perhaps the story told by Pliny *l.c.* that Romans and Sabines were reconciled on the same spot where in later times the Venus Cloacina had her sanctuary may refer to the Rape of the Sabines as the prototype of the well-known bridal rape:

Plin. *myrtea verberna Romanos Sabinosque, cum propter raptas virgines dimicare voluissent, depositis armis purgatos in eo loco qui nunc signa Veneris Cluacinae habet.* Lyd. *de mens.* IV. 45 (ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν

βαλανείους ἐλούοντο, πρὸς θεραπείαν αὐτῆς μὲν ῥσίνη ἐστὲ μὲν αἱ) clearly shows the character of this Venus.

S. EITREM.

Kristiania.

SUGGESTIONS ON THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS.

131 ὅλον μὴ τις ἀγα θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ προτυπὲν
στόμιον μέγα Τροίας
στρατωθέν.

The accepted view of προτυπέν seems to me very questionable, *prius percussum* (Hermann), 'struck by a premature blow' (Paley, Sidgwick), 'as by lightning' (Headlam). This is possible enough; but Hermann's further explanation '*ante belli clades immolatione Iphigeniae afflictum*' is, I believe, an error, for to the army the sacrifice of Iphigenia was essentially a relief from their trouble, the ἀπλοια, inflicted upon them by Artemis.

Looking, however, to the following στρατωθέν 'embattled,' not necessarily 'encamped,' '*in castris*' (Hermann), and to the poet's predilection for Homeric terms, I suggest that προτυπέν here should be rendered 'forward-flung.' At Aulis the host might be said to be well on its way, and for the expression compare the recurrent formula in the *Iliad*, Τρῶες δὲ προέτνυαν ἀολλῆες, and in our own day Mr. R. Kipling's noble invocation in the 'Recessional':

Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
στόμα κοσμήσας προτυπέν πόλεμον.

239 κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα.
ἐβαλλ' ἔκαστον θυτήρων ἀπ' ὀμματος βέλει
φιλοκτῶ.

To remedy the metrical flaw it has been proposed to read καθιεῖσ' for χέουσα. Might we not with greater probability adopt

κρόκου βαφὰς ἐς πέδονδε χέλουσ'?

There can be no objection to the epic form of the present χείω, for καταπνέει occurs in l. 105 of this play; cf. also *Homeric*, p. 147, and ι 10 ἐγγχείη. Moreover, by transposing the traditionally ill-placed δέ to follow πέδον we reproduce the Homeric εἰς ἄλαδε προρέουσι (κ 351).

287 ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονὴν
† πεύκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές ὡς τις ἥλιος
σέλας παραγγέλαισα Μακίστου σκεπαῖς.

For πεύκη τό, which has been variously attempted, the solution may, I

think, be found in ἡῤῥητο, 'The strength of the travelling torch grew joyously, a flare of golden light like a sun, carrying the tidings to the heights of Makistos.'

Professor Calder's interesting discussion of this passage in the last issue of the *Class. Rev.*, with his ingenious solution of the geographical difficulty, enables me to point out that the two well-founded objections he takes to ἐπεύκτο, etc., do not apply to ἡῤῥητο, which leaves παραγγέλαισα in 'the normal temporal attachment' and ὡς τις ἥλιος as the poet's own comparison.

496 ὡς οὐτ' ἀναυδος οὐτε σοὶ δαίμων φλόγα.

By general consent the lines 489 to 500 are taken from Clytemnestra and assigned to the Chorus; but the transference leaves σοὶ here without any meaning. It should refer to the queen, who is not present; but it is difficult and scarcely possible to admit such an off-handed and unceremonious address. Might we not read οὐτε τοι 'nor indeed,' representing the ordinary οὐτοι *non sane* divided into its constituent parts to admit the second οὐτε? Cf. Theocr. XI. 28 οὐδέ τί πω νῦν.

To the appearance of σοὶ, a natural outcome of τοι, may be traced the MSS. misattribution of this speech to Clytemnestra.

555 μύχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσανθίας
σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ
στένοντες, τοῦ λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος;

The last clause is patently corrupt. For λαχόντες Sidgwick would have some word like πάσχοντες or κλαίοντες (Stanley). Headlam suggests οὐ λάχοι τις, *et alii alia*, which need not be set forth in detail. The true remedy, if I do not deceive myself, is attainable without changing a letter of the tradition,

οὐ λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος,

'*haud sortiti locum sedendi*.' As appears from 558, the herald is describing the hardships of the soldiers on shipboard

during the outward voyage to the Troad. They had only standing-room. There may be a little exaggeration in this, but not so much as may be read in publications of the present day, such as 'they were packed like herrings in a barrel,' or 'like sardines in a tin.' In fact Aeschylus is justified by ancient pictorial art, extending down to the time of the Roman war-galley, as illustrated in bas-reliefs and in the Vatican Virgil. In rough weather—for *τί δ' οὐ στένοντες* comprehends this calamity as well as other inconveniences—what were the men to do 'when the space allotted was not sufficient for them to sit down'?

It will not be disputed that *ἡμα* from *ἡμαι* is as legitimate a formation as *πῶμα* from *πέπραμαι*, etc.; nor is there anything strange in the lapse of this equivocal form, which also belongs to another verb, *ἴημι*. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suggested *ἵσματος*, used only by Lycophron, in the sense I have advocated.

560 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ κάπθ' ἡγῆς λειμώνιαι
δρόσοι κατεψάκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος
ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα.

The grammatical anomaly of *τιθέντες* has nothing here to justify its presence. The line should probably run without comma:

ἐσθημάτων τιθέν τάχ' ἐνθηρον τρίχα.

The cause persists (*ἔμπεδον*), and before long, but not immediately, produces the disastrous effect.

746 παρακλινάσ' ἐπέκρανε
δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς.

Here the more natural order is preferable and metrically better (*cf.* 239):

παρακλινάσα δ' ἐπέκρανε
γὰμου πικρὰς τελευτάς.

805 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως
εὐφρων πνὸς εὐ τελέσασι.

So Weil for *πόνος* MSS., which Headlam, following Paley, retains, inserting *ἔστιν ἐπειπεῖν* to precede this line. The fatal objection to this is that the sentiment, however true as a generalisation, is here beside the mark. The chorus have just admitted that they had originally been strongly set against the war on Troy; they disapproved of the policy of their king. Now they are ready to recant and applaud him, as he has returned vic-

torious. They protest that their change is absolutely sincere and leaves no ill-feeling behind it, *νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως*. Unfortunately the final line fails to convey any recantation. The word *εὐφρων* conceals the necessary verb, which should be, I submit, *εὐφρωνῶ* or possibly *εὐφημῶ* (*cf.* 596, *Eum.* 1039):

εὐφρωνῶ πνὸν εὐ τελέσασι.

This makes a complete dimeter. The paroemiac here is surely a fault, as it interrupts the continuity of the thought to the end in 809.

948 πολλὰ γὰρ αἰδῶς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσι.

So Schütz for *σωματοφθορεῖν* MSS. The correction has been largely accepted as accurate by editors, Hermann, Blomfield, Enger, Schneidewin, Kennedy, Sidgwick, and Headlam. It is, however, almost certainly wrong, for the *στρωματοφθορεῖν* of Auratus is in every way a better emendation. The question is not altogether one of palaeography. The choice touches nearly the character of Agamemnon. He is not an attractive personality either in Homer or in Aeschylus, but he is not notably a mean prince like our Henry VII. On the contrary, he is free-handed enough in the *Iliad*, and his position alone (*βασιλεὺς πολυχρύσιοιο Μυκῆνης*) makes it unlikely that he should use such an exaggerated term as *δωματοφθορεῖν*, 'to ruin the house,' in reference to carpets and tapestries however expensive. *στρωματοφθορεῖν* would be the more adequate and fitting term. Franz's *εἵματοφθορεῖν*, quoted by W.-M., could hardly have produced the tradition.

1055 οὔτοι θυραῖαν τήνδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴ πάρα
τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου
ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρὸς
ὡς οὔποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν.

So the tradition. No recent editor seems to accept the first sentence without some alteration. I suggest that none is needed if we translate thus: 'Assuredly I have no time to tarry because of this outsider,' the last word being a contemptuous term for 'stranger' as well as for one who is literally 'out of doors.' For the sense given to *παρά* v. Liddell and Scott, s.v. C. 6. In the next clause it seems to me impossible to take *τά* as the Homeric article before

μήλα: l. 830 τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα and other passages fully justify Peile and Conington's translation, 'for as regards the central altar.' Consequently there is no need to touch πυρός and substitute πάρος (Musgrave, Headlam). The translation should proceed: 'the sheep already stand for sacrifice at the fire,' cf. *Il.* IX. 219 τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέροιο. It is just the preceding τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου that enables πυρός to stand here as a locative.

In 1058 τοῖς for ὡς would make Kennedy's ἡμῖν for ἥδη in the preceding line a needless change, nor indeed can ἥδη be spared.

Χάριν ἔχειν, commonly meaning 'to be under an obligation,' here has the unusual sense 'to have delight.' Perhaps ἥξειν χάριν 'that this joy would come.'

1252 † ἡ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπης (-εις) χρησμῶν ἐμῶν.

So the tradition. ἡ κάρτα τᾶρα παρεσκόπης (Hartung) and so Sidgwick retaining ἂν (τᾶρ' ἂν). In view of *Soph. Antig.* 92 I suggest ἀρχήν = 'to begin with,' ἡ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἀρχὴν παρεσκόπης. The verb is here virtually negative, being equivalent to οὐ ξυνήκας.

1299 οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλυξίς σὺ, ξένοι, χρόνον πλέω.

So Hermann, χρόνῳ MSS. This seems rather an unwieldy way of saying ἔτι, 'any longer.' Moreover, the reply of the chorus,

ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρσβεύεται,

seems to imply that Cassandra has said that she does not ask or wish for any postponement of the inevitable. It appears to me that the failure of the tradition is in πλέω, which may conceal a noun parallel and supplementary to ἀλυξίς. The required sense might have been, but was not, expressed by a verb.

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλυξίς οὐδ' ἐμοὶ χρόνου μέλει.

'Escape is not possible: I care not for the time.'

It is well known that π and μ are frequently confused in MSS. Hence if πλέω be representative of any noun, it would be μελώ = μέλησις, just as μελλῶ = μέλλησις. The line might be, or approximate to,

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλυξίς οὐδ' ἐμοὶ χρόνου μελώ.

χρόνου μελώ, 'concern for a respite.'

1641

ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ
λίμὸς ξύνκοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται.

δυσφιλής κότε MSS. σκότῳ Aurtus. δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ Scaliger, Stanley, Schütz, Headlam. Sidgwick says 'perhaps right.' What I am concerned with here is the further difficulty of ἐπόψεται. I think Aeschylus used a much stronger expression, drawn from Homer as in 131 above, and wrote not ἐπόψεται, but ἐπίψεται. The corruption may pass without comment; but for the form ἵπτομαι there is warrant in A 454, Π 237 μέγα δ' ἵψαο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, and B 193 τάχα δ' ἵψεται νῆας Ἀχαιῶν. Aeschylus has a derivative ἱπόω,

Prom. 365 ἱπούμενος ῥίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὕπο,

where it is clear the meaning is 'to crush, to squeeze.' So in our passage Aegisthus says 'Famine lodged in cheerless darkness shall make him meek by hard pressure,' not 'shall see him meek,' even if sight were possible in darkness. Someone must have thought it was not, hence κότε.

Is it not also probable or more than probable that in τ 260, 597, ψ 19,

ἐξ οὗ Ὀδυσσεὺς
ῥχετ' ἐποπόμενος Κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν,

Penelope plainly stated the real object of the expedition without either frivolity or sarcasm, ἐπιψόμενος, 'to bring about the downfall, the crushing, of Troy?

Lastly, the view here taken explains the curious πανόψιον ἔγχος ἐλοῦσα of Φ 397. Bentley indeed, reading πανίψιον, solved the mystery long ago, though with little acceptance; v. Leaf *ad loc.* The spear is all-crushing or shattering. As *τυμψισμὸς* is to *sumpsimus*, so is πανόψιον to πανίψιον.

1693 (ἐγὼ) καὶ σὺ θήσομεν, κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων, . . .

The MSS. fail to give the concluding word of this line and of the play. Surely it is τέλος rather than καλῶς. 'You and I will fix the upshot,' 'will make the final settlement,' cf. Π 630 ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ τέλος πολέμου, ἐπέων δ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ. also T 107, T 369. The reason for the omission is obvious. The copyist thought it sufficient to write τέλος once only at the end of the Play.

T. L. AGAR.

THREE CASES OF TRANSPOSITION.

Ovid, *Met.* ii. 454 ff.

Orbe resurgebant lunaria cornua nono,
cum dea uenatu, fraternis languida flammis, 454
nacta nemus gelidum, de quo cum murmure
labens

ibat et attritas uersabat riuus harenas,
ut loca laudauit, etc.

So the best MSS. and most editors; but the awkward collocation of ablatives in 454 is not like Ovid. Raphael Regius read *uenatrix*, which Heinsius found as a 'uaria lectio' in some of his 'deteriores,' and adopted in preference to his own conjecture *uenantum* (cf. 492 *infra*). In N and Urbinas 341 an 'et' is interpolated by a later hand between 'uenatu' and 'fraternis.' One or other of these readings may be right, but I cannot help suspecting that the words 'dea' and 'de' have changed places. The 'dea' in 455 caught the scribe's eye too soon, and—once established in the wrong place—was 'corrected' away from its true place later. Of this use of 'de' in the sense of 'newly come from' a good example is Plautus *Pseud.* 661, 'lassus ueni de uia.' See also Munro's note on Lucretius i. 384. Reading

'cum *de* uenatu, fraternis languida flammis,
nacta nemus gelidum *dea*, quo cum murmure
labens,' etc.

note that the Corpus editor rightly places only a comma after 'harenas.' The full-stop of most editions (including even Burmann's) quite spoils the 'march' of the sentence.

. In passing, I would call attention to a blunder in the prose 'argument' of this 'fabula.' Dr. Magnus (p. 638, line 22 f.) gaily reprints the vulgate, viz. 'In Dianae namque sexum' ('speciem' *ex codd. alii, cll. Met.* ii. 425) 'se reiecit ac fatigatae ornatus pharetra sagittisque uelut Diana occurrit. Ac ueste pariter posita uirgo Iouem experta est.' By so doing he makes the whole passage seem hopelessly corrupt, as indeed all the MSS. and editors have done before him. Read '<H>ac ueste,' etc., and sense emerges. The same error, 'Ac' for 'Hac,' occurs even in π at *Met.* ii. 204. Probably, however, the corruption does not end with 'Ac.' Either 'ueste' is a perversion of 'specie'

or some words have fallen out, e.g. Hac <facie ac> ueste; cf. *Met.* ii. 425 (already cited)

Protinus induitur *faciem cultumque* Dianae
with 'se prodit' in line 433.

Catullus viii. 15.

scelesta tne te quae tibi manet uita!
quis nunc te adibit? cui uideberis bella?
quem nunc amabis? cuius esse diceris?

The drift of opinion seems to be in favour of accepting the change of 'ne' to 'uae' in this passage. So Haupt, Baehrens, Macnaghten. So, too, Professor Gardner Hale. Some readers may prefer Professor J. B. Bury's ingenious 'scelesta, *anenti*,' κ.τ.λ. The present writer has pleaded elsewhere for the retention of the idiomatic 'ne.' But as that involves emending the rest of the line (cf. *C.Q.* VII. 2. 125), it would certainly be simpler to admit 'uae'—with a dative, if that be possible. With an accusative the word appears only to be found for certain once, in the *Apocolocuntosis*, 4. 3. 'Vae' in Plautus occurs times without number, but always with a dative, no matter what the shade of meaning involved,¹ except at *Asinaria* 481—a dubious instance, for there Ussing brackets 480-483 as spurious. Moreover, if the passage is sound as a whole, the change of a single letter (nae te—with aposiopesis, as in Virgil's famous 'Quos ego') would give us the normal idiom of Plautus, without either injuring or obscuring the sense.

Surely in this line of Catullus the letter 'q' has gone astray? If our MSS. read 'scelesta, quae te (uae tibi!) manet uita?'² no qualms would be felt about the subtle distinction between 'maneo' with the accusative (cf. e.g. Hor. *Epod.* xvi. 41) and 'maneo' with the dative. No reader of Professor Housman's Preface to Manilius, Bk. i., pp. liv-lix, will question the possibility (I

¹ See the collection of examples in Ramsay's *Mostellaria* of Plautus, pp. 170-171.

² 'Vae tibi!' *per parenthesin* as—according to the Palimpsest—at Plaut. *Cas.* 115 f., scies hoc ita esse (uae tibi!) quot te modis si uiuo habeo, etc.

might almost say the probability) of the transposition here suggested.

There are traces of 'quae' for 'ne' in the 'deteriores' (see Ellis, *ed. mai. ad loc.*), but not apparently of 'uae' for 'quae.'

This conjecture has been made, the Editors point out, 'long ago' by Froelich. But in that case my note is needed, to revive interest in a neglected theory which would seem to deserve attention both in itself and as being the idea of the critic, to whom we owe what Professor Housman calls the 'beautiful restoration' of 41. 8 (*C.R.* XIX. 122a), which is not likely to be similarly 'scrapped.'

Statius, *Silvae* I., *Praef.* 37: 'De quo (sc. Gallico) nihil dico, ne uidear defuncti testis occasione mentiri, nam Claudii Etrusci testimonium †domomum est, qui,' etc. If third¹ thoughts on a 'locus conclamatus' are permissible, is it not highly probable that this mysterious 'domomum,' which Klotz in his second edition leaves duly obelised, should be regarded as a corruption of the Plautine 'in mundo'? The preposition 'in' was lost by haplography (as at *Poenulus* 783) after 'iū,' and 'mūdo,' at first wrongly written down as 'mōdo' (so e.g. 'sumnus' for 'somnus' elsewhere in *P.*) was after-

wards 'corrected' thus: $\begin{matrix} m\bar{u}do. \\ mo \end{matrix}$

The words 'mo-do' and 'do-mo' are frequently confused elsewhere.² Here Poggio's scribe, the 'homo omnium uiuentium ignorantissimus,' dull, but well-meaning, made what he could of the puzzle set before him, and gave us as the result 'do-mo-mū'—own cousin to the reading of V in Catullus 58. 5 (*cf.* Baehrens, *Praef.* p. xxiii)—'a truth standing on its head to attract attention.'

This conjecture would seem to account reasonably enough for almost every stroke of the corruption. Further, it would restore to a letter (for the Preface is in effect a letter) a colloquialism proper to the epistolary style. Charisius glosses the phrase thus: "'In mundo" pro "palam," "in expedito," "cito"'—precisely the sense that the context requires. Whether the dative, which in Plautus and Ennius seems always to be in attendance, is essential or not is hard to say. Charisius does not imply that it is. If it were, the 'tibi' (= tⁱ) has been lost after 'Etrusci.' Read, therefore, 'nam Claudii Etrusci <tibi> testimonium in mundo est.'—See the facsimile in Klotz of this page of M.

D. A. SLATER.

² Professor Lindsay gives about half a dozen instances (one from Virgil) in his *Introduction to Latin Textual Emendation*, p. 75.

NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES OF LUCRETIUS, BOOK V.

LUCRETIUS V. 294-298:

Quin etiam nocturna tibi, terrestria quae sunt, lumina, pendentes lychini claraeque coruscis fulguribus pingues multa caligine taedae, consimili properant ratione, ardore ministro suppeditare nouum lumen.

'Multa caligine' should not be taken with either 'taedae' or 'properant suppeditare'; in either case the words would be little more than a repetition of 'nocturna.' Their position in relation to 'pingues,' which is exactly that of 'coruscis fulguribus' in relation to 'clarae,' and also the general arrangement of words in the passage, show that it is right to construct together

'pingues multa caligine,' 'fat, oily, with thick blackness,' i.e. of pitchy smoke. The words 'clarae . . . taedae' are then a description of the torches, with their thick black smoke and the flames flashing through it.

For parallels with 'caligo' in this sense compare Vergil, *Georg.* II. 309 ' . . . picea crassus caligine'; Pliny, *H.N.* II. xlii. ' . . . fumidam a terra propter uapores exhalari caliginem.'

Lucretius V. 948-951:

Denique nota uagi siluestria templa tenebant nymphae, quibus e scibant umori fluenta lubrica proluuie larga lauere umida saxa, umida saxa super uiridi stillantia musco.

1. 948: 'nota . . . tenebant,' 'they got to know in their wanderings and remembered'; 'they kept note of,' not,

as Munro, 'they would occupy the well-known woodland haunts.'

l. 952 (i.): 'stillantia' should be connected not with 'fluenta,' but with 'saxa.' This seems certain for the following reasons:

(a) In other passages of Lucretius where there is verbal repetition, what follows on the repeated words is an addition to them and closely connected with them:

Book III. 12-13:

Omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta,
aurea, perpetua semper dignissima uita.

Book IV. 788-90:

Quid porro, in numerum procedere cum simulacra
cernimus in somnis, et mollia membra mouere,
mollia, mobiliter cum alternis brachia mittunt,
where the words 'mobiliter . . . mittunt' enlarge on 'mollia.'

Other passages are II. 954-6, V. 298-9 (where 'nec . . . relinquit' carries on the idea of 'instant'), VI. 527 ff. (where a detailed list follows on 'omnia').

Compare also Vergil, *Ecl.* IX. 47-8:

Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
astrum, quo segetes gauderent frugibus.

(b) 'Stillantia' is not appropriate to 'fluenta proluuie larga,' but is appropriate to 'umida saxa'; cf. *Lucr.* VI. 942-3:

. . . fit ut in speluncis saxa superne
sudent umore et guttis manantibus stillent.

(ii.) 'Super' may be—

(a) Joined with 'stillantia,' making a virtual compound 'super stillantia.'

(β) Regarded as a preposition = 'above,' 'over,' but not 'down over' or 'down on to.'

(γ) Regarded as an adverb = 'superne' in VI. 942, quoted above.

In cases (a) and (β) the 'umida saxa' would be the rocky sides of a spelunca (cf. VI. 942-3 above) dripping with moisture above the green moss that grows about the stream (Vergil's 'mucosi fontes,' *Ecl.* VII. 45). In case (γ) the 'saxa' are the rocks beside the bed of the stream, grown over with moss bedewed with drops, and dripping—literally, 'the wet rocks dripping with green moss on the top.' If this is the right sense, 'lubrica,' l. 950, which might otherwise be descriptive of 'umida

saxa,' must belong to 'fluenta' = 'sliding streams.'

S. M. M. FURNESS.

LUCRETIVS V. 1009-10.

illi imprudentes ipsi sibi saepe venenum
vergebant *nudant sollertius ipsi.*

THIS passage is a notorious critical crux. Giussani in his note says with truth: 'Grandissimo il numero delle correzioni proposte; ma la vera medicina non è ancora trovata.' There is little doubt that *nudant* is for *nunc dant*, but the rest is uncertain. The vulg., *nunc dant aliis sollertius ipsi*, is condemned by the solecistic use of *ipsi*. On the assumption that Lucretius is referring to poisoning by relatives, Munro (ed. 3) read *nurui nunc dant sollertius ipsi* (dative), and Purmann's *nunc dant patribus sollertius ipsis* is on the same lines. Bergk and Polle conjectured *nunc dant Marsis* (or *Colchis*) *sollertius ipsis*. Palmer, holding the strange view that intentional poisoning is not referred to, proposed *medici nunc dant sollertius usi*.

I suggest *nunc dant sollertiu' Lertiade* (or *Lartiade*) *ipso*, 'nowadays they administer poison with a craft surpassing that of Ulysses.' Ulysses is the typical example of *sollertia* in all its forms, and *sollers* is a favourite epithet applied to him by Ovid (e.g. *A.A.* II. 355; *P.* IV. 14, 35). This suggestion is supported by Hieron. *Comment. in Ezech.* 6 (V. col. 197, Vall.), *et pellacis Ulyxis venena non deserunt, labiaque tantum melle circumlinunt*, where Jerome is denouncing the insidious nature of poisonous heretical teaching. His epithet *pellax* is from *Aen.* II. 90; the smearing of the lip of the drugged cup with honey is from *Lucr.* I. 936 ff.; may not *Ulyxis venena* also be a reminiscence of Lucretius? The synizesis in *Lertiades* (or *Lartiades*) for *Laertiades* is defended by *Λάρτιος* = *Λαέρτιος* (e.g. *Soph. Aj.* 6) and *Lartius Ulysses* (*Ulyxes*), which occurs in *Plaut. Bacch.* IV. 8, 22, where *B* has *lertius* and *C lertius*; and also in a quotation from some old tragic writer in *Quint.* VI. 3, 96, where *lertius* is the form given by most MSS. In *Cic. Att.* VII. 1, 9, *Lartidius* is explained by some as a Latin form of *Λαερτιάδης*.

GEORGE W. MOONEY.

TACITUS, *ANNALS* IV. 33.

Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt: delecta ex iis et *consciata* rei publicae forma laudari facilius quam euenire, uel, si euenit, haud diuturna esse potest.

The older conjectures, *temperata*, *constituta*, *concinata*, have given way, and Ernesti's *consociata* holds the field. The word naturally means 'allied,' but here it must mean 'created by alliance.' Compare the meanings of the infinitives in Cic. *de Off.* iii. 33, 119: 'nec uero finis bonorum, qui simplex esse debet, ex dissimilibus rebus misceri et temperari potest.' 'Ally' is not quite the best word for what Tacitus means, but how close *consociare* can approach to what we want is shown by Plaut. *Most.* 276:

ubi sese sudor cum unguentis consociauit, ilico itidem olent quasi quom una multa iura confudit coquos.

If *consociata* stood in the manuscript, then, its position would be secure enough. But *consciata* can still, perhaps, be better cured.

Behind the passage of Tacitus lies much Greek praise of constitutions in which elements of the simple forms are mingled and blent. Thucydides praises the government of the Five Thousand who succeeded the Four Hundred (viii. 97, 2): μετρία γὰρ ἦδε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο. Aristotle is all for κράσις or μίξις, for εὖ κεκραμέναι πολιτεῖαι or πολιτεῖαι καλῶς μεμιγμέναι: see an index to the *Politics*. Polybius follows suit in vi. 3, and Cicero in *de Rep.* i. 29, 45; i. 35, 54; i. 45, 69; ii. 23, 41. The second of these four passages of Cicero prompts us to the right word for Tacitus:

Tum Laelius: Quid tu, inquit, Scipio? e tribus istis quod maxime probas? S. Recte quaeris, quod maxime e tribus, quoniam eorum nullum ipsum per se separatim probo anteponoque singulis illud quod conflatum fuerit ex omnibus.

In Tacitus, then, read *conflata* for *consciata*. Tacitus does not use this verb elsewhere, but for Cicero's use of it see *de Off.* i. 4, 14, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 39, 100, *de Inv.* ii. 3, 8, *pro Caelio*, 5, 12.

Just before *conflata*, there is a fault in *iis*, which is loose if it refers to the ξύμπασα γνώμη of the preceding sentence, or awkwardly far from its noun if we are to supply *rei publicae formis* from what follows. I raise the

question whether *iis* may not be a mistake for *iii* or *iis iii*. With the numeral it seems to me easier to supply the noun. Both the numeral alone, and the numeral coupled with a demonstrative, are found in the passage of Cicero quoted above. Numeral and demonstrative occur again, though strangely divorced, in Cic. *de Rep.* i. 29, 45:

Itaque quantum quoddam genus rei publicae maxime probandum esse sentio, quod est ex his, quae prima dixi, moderatum et permixtum tribus.

The rhythm, if nothing else, suggests that *tribus* is out of place, and that *ex iii*, or *ex his iii*, or *ex iis iii*, should be read.

Later in the chapter Tacitus contrasts his own subject with others:

Ceterum ut profutura, ita minimum oblectationis adferunt. nam situs gentium, uarietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeua iussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitu (or exitii) causas coniungimus, obuia rerum similitudine et satietate.

It has been suggested (in *C.R.* XXIII., p. 42) that Tacitus is alluding to three other works of his own: to the *Germania* in *situs gentium*, to the *Histories* in *uarietates proeliorum*, to the *Agricola* in *clari ducum exitus*. Now *situ* actually occurs in the long titles of the *Agricola* in the manuscripts, and it has seemed to some to be supported by the sentence in which the description prefixed by Livy to his story of Caesar's war with Ariovistus is summed up in the Epitome (civ.):

prima pars libri situm Germaniae moresque continet.

However that may be, 'situations of peoples' is a theme more congenial to Livy than to Tacitus; in the *Agricola* he dismisses *Britanniae situm* in a single chapter (10); what the *Germania* tells us of the positions of the German tribes is vague and perfunctory; the subject, to him and his readers, was no match in point of interest for varieties of battles and famous deaths of generals. He is more attracted by *ritus* of peoples. For his use of the word see *Germ.* 27.3, 45.2. In *Hist.* ii. 2 also, and perhaps in i. 48, *ritum* has been corrupted into *situm*.

E. HARRISON.

AESCHYLUS, AGAMEMNON,
LL. 42-44.

Μενέλαος ἀναξ ἢδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,
διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ διασκήπτρον
τιμῆς ὄχυρόν ζεύγος Ἀτρειδᾶν. . . .

'INTERPUNCTIONEM post τιμῆς sustulit Hermannus, qui aequae ad τιμῆς pertinere ζεύγος atque ad Ἀτρειδᾶν monuit.' Thus Paley put in a nutshell the history of the interpretation of this passage. Hermann saw that τιμῆς cannot be a 'descriptive' genitive depending either on the two proper names or on ζεύγος Ἀτρειδᾶν, and all his successors have acquiesced in the opinion that τιμῆς, etc., is an 'expansion' of Ἀτρειδᾶν. Well might Kennedy add to a lucid exposition of this view that 'the construction is remarkable.' Even if such an apposition is tolerable in itself (which I doubt), it is absolutely intolerable with τιμῆς preceding Ἀτρειδᾶν. But the *Lexica* are adamant, and generation after generation of editors have been content to hand on the doctrine that Aeschylus somehow or other *must* have meant 'King Menelaos and Agamemnon, that staunch pair of Atreus' sons, two dignitaries endowed by Zeus with a throne and a sceptre each.'

That great artist can, of course, have meant nothing of the sort. If he had meant this, he would have taken the trouble to express his meaning in the clear-cut, straightforward language in which the rest of this lucid *parados* is written. In dealing with the choruses of Aeschylus, a very relevant consideration is apt to be overlooked. These choruses must preserve much of the actual diction of old Attic hymns, and religious poetry is notoriously conservative in respect both of vocabulary and of syntax. For their interpretation an etymological dictionary is a necessary supplement to the *Lexica*. In the passage before us we hear the last echo of a vanished meaning of ὄχυρός. This word, which appears as ὄχυρός in Poetical, as ἐχύρός in Attic, and in both forms in Hellenistic Greek, always with the meaning 'strong,' must once have meant 'holding,' as is proved by its compound ἐνέχυρον as well as by its obvious derivation (on the second vowel see Brugmann-Thumb, p. 227, where φλεγυρός is compared). Take τιμῆς with

ὄχυρόν, and translate 'that pair who held the honour of two thrones and two sceptres, the gift of Zeus.' In τιμῆς ὄχυρός we have the equivalent of τιμάσχος or τιμὴν ἔχων in epic poetry. That Διόθεν goes closely with θρόνος and σκήπτρον rather than with τιμή is suggested by the assonance; cf. διοσδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφούμενον, *Eum.* 629, quoted by Headlam.

W. M. CALDER.

P.S.—I was glad, on submitting the above note to the Editors of the *C.R.* in October, 1922, to learn that Dr. J. T. Sheppard had arrived independently at the same view.—W. M. C.

SOPHOCLES, PHILOCTETES 35.

αὐτόξυλον ἔκπωμα.

αὐτόξυλος is explained by the Scholiast as μονόξυλος, and has been variously translated 'of mere wood,' 'of natural wood,' 'of one single piece of wood.' Plainly it means a cup of wood without any metal additions in the way of ornamentation; and similarly αὐτοχειλὴς λήκυθος (*Soph. frag.* 130) means a pot without an added rim. But how does αὐτο- convey this meaning? I submit that αὐτός means (1) 'self,' (2) 'by itself,' (3) by an easy transition 'taken as a whole,' so practically *totus*. Thus αὐτόπρεμνος (*Ant.* 714) means 'with the whole trunk'; αὐτόπετρον βῆμα (*O.C.* 192) 'a platform composed of a whole block,' and not of several stones; αὐτόποκον ἱμάτιον (*Com. Fr.* 322) 'a cloak entirely of wool'; αὐτόπυρος ἄρτος (*Alexis Κύπρ.* 2) 'a loaf wholly composed of wheat-flour'; αὐτοσίδαρον διὰ σαρκὸς ἀμιλλαν (*Eur. Hel.* 356) 'the effort by which the whole steel is buried in the flesh'; αὐτόφλοιον βάκτρον (*Theocr.* XXV. 208) 'a stick with the whole bark left on it'; αὐτόκωπα ξίφη (*Aesch. Choeph.* 163) 'weapons in which haft and blade are one whole,' without a specially ornamented handle. It is hardly necessary to point out that this satisfactorily explains the well-known idiom ἡ ναὺς αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπώλετο. 'Men and all' is not an adequate translation; it means that not a man escaped, but the whole crew perished. This fits admirably with the earliest instance of

this construction, *Iliad* VIII. 24, 'with the whole earth and the whole sea.' It is interesting that Mr. L. W. Hunter showed that *ipse* has this meaning in his treatment of the journey of Cicero to his province, where *decem ipsos dies* (*ad Att.* VI. II. 4) means 'ten complete days,' not counting the day of arrival and that of departure. Thus his stays at Apamea, Philomelium and Cybistra were variously described as *triduum* and *quinque dies*. In Juvenal I. 127 *Ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum*, the translation 'the whole day' gives good sense. If the meaning of *αὐτός* suggested above is correct, this may have influenced the use of *ipse*.

G. C. RICHARDS.

NOTE ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE NEW PLAUTUS FRAGMENT.

A FRAGMENT of Plautus (*Cistellaria*, 123-147, 158-182), written in purple ink, discovered at Hiersemann's of Leipzig and acquired by the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin, was published in 1919 by Professor H. Degering¹ and discussed in this review by Professor Lindsay soon afterwards.² It will be recalled that the fragment was found on the inside of the wooden cover of a twelfth-century manuscript of Ovid's *Metam.* (the cover itself being in Venetian leather of the sixteenth century), that some scribbling on a fly-leaf connects the manuscript with Friuli, and that the present whereabouts of the Ovid manuscript are shrouded in mystery. The genuineness of the Plautus fragment has now been impugned. In a paper read before the Paris Academy, the eminent palaeographer, Professor Chatelain, subjected the fragment to a searching examination, and concluded that neither its text nor its palaeography could be regarded as authentic.³

Although one may not agree with all the details of Professor Chatelain's strictures,⁴ it is undeniable that the cumulative effect of his criticism is disconcerting. While I hesitate to endorse his condemnation without having seen the original, I confess that such opinion as I am able to form from a study of the facsimile is unfavourable to the fragment. For suspicion

is aroused not only by the mysterious disappearance of the Ovid manuscript, but by the following graphic features of the fragment itself:

1. Unusual colour of ink; the use of purple ink for a text is unprecedented.
2. Lack of sure touch in forming letters (not the awkwardness of a beginner, or of a style still unperfected), and lack of definite script-direction or *ductus*.
3. Singular variety in size and form of letters.
4. Great unevenness in spacing between letters, and between lines (the latter, however, may be the result of shrinking, due to moisture or paste).
5. Lack of alignment in the initial letters of lines. (Apparently the bounding line which invariably guides such alignment is missing. If so, the fragment possesses another extraordinary feature).

Though further investigation may rehabilitate the fragment, the date ascribed to it by its editor is in any case centuries wide of the mark. As the fragment lacks all the earmarks of our oldest uncial manuscripts,⁵ a date like the fourth century is impossible. If genuine, it is not older than the sixth century. That the fragment once formed part of an *édition de luxe*, written for a royal personage, is unthinkable. Such books were produced by expert scribes, not by botchers.

E. A. LOWE.

HORACE, *EPODES* V. 49-82.

CONSIDERABLE difficulty has always been felt in following out Canidia's train of thought during her speech here. The trouble centres round 'quid accidit' (v. 61) and involves 'latrent' (v. 58).

If we retain 'latrent' (as the MSS. bid us) and punctuate with a full stop after 'manus' (v. 60), we seem to be driven to desperate expedients to make even bad sense or nonsense out of the passage.

(1) If we take the sense to be 'let me hear the dogs barking now as a sign that my old lover is coming to his Canidia,' then 'nardo perunctum quale non perfectius meae laborarint manus' is pointless. Why say, 'Let the old fool come back to his duty under the spell of my very first-rate nard' when your temper is better represented by 'under the spell of my very third-rate nard'?

Then, why should Varus' subjection be (id) 'quod omnes rideant'? Canidia ought not to think so. She does not rate her own attractions so low as Horace does.

Then, surely the nocturnal rambler is only to be barked at because he is 'adulter,' and only 'adulter' (in Canidia's view) because he and when he is unfaithful to her. Lastly, is the lover really to be expected to appear at the witches' sabbath? And can 'quid accidit' mean, 'Why do they fail to bark?' or, 'Why does he not come?'

⁵ See the guides given by Chatelain in his *Uncialis Scriptura* and the writer's observations in *A Sixth-Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger*, p. 19 sq. (Washington, 1922).

¹ *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, pp. 468-476 (and facsimile), 497-503.

² Vol. XXXIII. (1919) 152.

³ 'Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,' pp. 223-229 (*Bulletin*, Mai-Juin, 1922): 'Un prétendu fragment de Plaute en onciale du IV^e siècle.'

⁴ Letter *a* with roundish bow is not unknown in very old uncial; cf. the Bodleian Chronicle of Jerome (*Auct. T.* 2. 26), saec. V., or the Florentine Pandects, saec. VI. Nor do the objections to the 'boucle antérieure' of the letter *u* and of the cross stroke of *t* seem convincing.

(2) If we take the sense to be, 'Let the dogs bark at and warn off my reprobate old lover,' 'adulterum' gets its proper meaning in the context.

But 'nardo perunctum quale non perfectius' again seems pointless. The ointment is surely to keep Varus at home ('oblivione paelicum') and not to exasperate the dogs. Again, is not the barking of dogs in such context a conventional sign¹ that the lover is abroad and like to be successful in his amorous pursuits rather than a sign of his discomfiture? It is pure fudge to press 'latrent' like this and it is useless.

Is Horace so feebly obscure as to expect his readers to understand that the words 'quid accidit' are called forth by the mere absence of a certain noise outside? Canidia prays furiously. Dead silence. 'Quid accidit?' How do we, Horace's readers, know that Canidia knows that at this moment Varus is at his tricks?

To read 'latrant' instead of 'latrent,' with the same punctuation, is not open to the same objections in the main. Canidia hears the dogs and is put out by the failure of her esteemed unguent. So she cries, not unnaturally, 'quid accidit?' Similarly, in Theocritus II.² the dogs are heard barking in the streets, and their interruption gives a new turn to the action.

But 'quod omnes rideant' seems over tender to Varus.

Still, though 'latrant' lacks MSS. support, this reading of the lines would find favour over the first if it, too, were not ruled out by the fact that Canidia in saying 'quid accidit?' cannot be expressing emotion at any failure of her ointment which takes place after the time at which the *Epode* opens. The whole plot of the piece depends precisely upon her foreknowledge of that failure. She has abducted the boy in order that he may furnish certain ingredients for a love-potion ('exsecta uti medulla et aridum iecur amoris esset poculum,' vv. 37-38), which she is going to give to unfaithful Varus ('maius parabo, maius infundam tibi fastidienti poculum,' vv. 77-78). She knows, therefore, that Varus has slipped through the greasy toils and that she has a rival. She curses the supplanter—'nunc, nunc in hostilis domos iram atque numen uertite'—and she has decided to take practical measures in addition.

What, however, she may not know is the cause of her previous failure. Not only a rival, but a rival witch is in the field; and that fact she only gets to know at vv. 71-72, 'a a solutus ambulat ueneficae scientioris carmine.' So that with 'quid accidit?' she is really asking for information from 'Nox et Diana,' and as she works the answer is given through some medium which is available to people of her profession. After all, it might be very important for future success to know the cause of past failure in such a case.

A possible solution of the difficulty seems to be to retain 'latrent' and be virtuous, but punctuate with a mark of interrogation after

'manus' (v. 60) instead of a full stop. We must have a full stop after 'uertite' (v. 54) for the benefit of the poem. Canidia makes an additional grievance against Varus: 'What!' she says, 'are the tame curs of the town to go barking at night while their betters, Diana's wild beasts, are asleep?'—of course, identifying herself with the patroness's interests and laying the blame on Varus. With this punctuation the train of thought seems clear and consistent:

'Night and Diana, now I need your aid. Is this old reprobate, to the laughter of the town,³ to prowl about at nights in defiance of my very best ointment? What has gone wrong? Why are Medea's⁴ prescriptions no longer so efficacious as when she used them? I have omitted no single ingredient; his bed is treated for continence. I see, I see; another witch has put a spell on him and cut me out. No use, Varus. I shall soon have a draught of irresistible virtue, to which this boy here has been procured for a contribution.'

The style supports such an interpretation. Canidia begins in excitement, biting her nails, rising to a climax of indignant rage with 'manus' (v. 60). Afterwards she becomes quieter, turning the matter over in her puzzled mind, until, as light breaks in on her, her puzzlement gives way to anticipation of triumph, and repetition again comes in.

Of course, there is nothing much against supposing the dogs to be busy during the ceremonial, only 'quid accidit' does not depend upon that.

D. L. DREW.

TWO NOTES ON CATULLUS.

(a) Catullus 63. 14.

Agite ite ad alta, Gallae, Cybeles nemora simul, simul ite, Dindymenae dominae uaga pecora, aliena quae petentes ut aues loca, celere¹⁴ sectam meam executae duce me mihi comites rapidum salum tulistis truculentaque pelagi.

So I would propose to read line 14. 'Aliena quae p. uelut exules loca celeri' is the text of all the MSS., and, as something has to go, editors since B. Guarinus tend to 'burke' the last word in the line—celeri.

Schwabe conjectured 'celere (so Plautus, *Curc.* 283) uelut exules.' But (even if that 'e final' can be long) 'uelut' in this context is meaningless. The Gallae are real—not 'quasi'—

³ I.e., from her point of interest. It is unbearable that people should make laughter of the fact that Canidia's charms, personal and professional, are not great enough to retain the allegiance of even her greybeard admirer.

⁴ v. 62. 'Valent' is clearly right. Canidia is in possession of Medea's receipt handed down from witch to witch in the direct line of enchantment. So Tibullus: 'sola tenere malas Medae dicitur herbas.'

¹ Cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 2, 459; Tib. 1. 6. 32.

² So Virgil *Eclogues* VIII. also.

exiles. So Baehrens (vol. ii., p. 341, *q.v.*) points out. He would read 'celere exules loca'—good rhetoric, for 'exules' sums up in a word the trouble of the Gallae. They are pariahs, and he may be right. If so, the corruption must be either a wilful blunder or the work of a careless scribe (*cf.* 'nobis' G for 'blanda' O, at 64. 139), and yet the scribes of Catullus were unusually conscientious and careful.

Now Baehrens and others have shown how seriously V was vitiated from time to time by the intrusion of glosses into the text. My contention is that here V's exemplar had the false reading 'celeri' in *textu*¹ and between the lines, probably misplaced, a note, 'uel e.' The scribe of V misunderstood the note; prefixed the 'uel' to 'ut' and the 'e' to 'aues,' which—confusing the letters 'a' and 'x,' as he does elsewhere at 61. 56 and 68. 143—he read as 'xues.' 'Exues' he could see was meaningless, but a stroke of the pen made of it a word that seemed to fit the context.²

The false reading 'celeri' he left as it stood, uncorrected. Baehrens' 'celere exules loca' is no doubt better rhetoric (*cf.* Hor. C. 3. 3. 38). But it is poetry, not rhetoric, that we look for in Catullus. The picture of the migratory birds may have been suggested by the 'uaga pecora' of line 13, gives and gains point to and from line 16, 'rapidum salum tulistis,' and would seem to enrich the imagery of the poem.

(b) Catullus 64. 135.

Sicine discedens neglecto numine diuom
immemor a, deuota domum periuria portas?

Is 'deuota' sound? The line in the *Coma Berenices*, 'Deuotae flauī uerticis exuuiæ' (66. 62) does not help: nor, so far as I can see, do the commentators either here or there. A freight of 'doomed' perjuries is an odd phrase on the lips of a girl like Ariadne. Have we not here an 'accommodatio ad proxima'? Did not Catullus write 'Immemor a, deuote, domum, periuria

portas'? So, perhaps with this passage in mind, Virgil, at *Aeneid* vii. 425, 'i nunc, ingratīs offer te, *inrise*, periclis.'³ So—to take a very modern instance—Mr. Kipling, in the 'Ballad of the King's Mercy' makes the King say to the would-be assassin, 'Dead man, thou dost not well!' Ellis found no trace of a variant here; but then at *Aeneid* ix. 485 'all Ribbeck's MSS.' (says Conington) 'have "data," but it can scarcely be doubted that "date" is the true reading.' So Bentley read and (with all respect to the Oxford editor) rightly read. 'Data' there comes from 'data' in the previous line as 'deuota' here from the influence of the neighbouring 'periuria.' 'Immemor' is, of course, nominative. 'Periuria' and 'deuote' act and react on one another as cause and effect—the perjurer for the sin of forgetfulness is sailing to a self-sought doom.

D. A. SLATER.

THE EXPRESSION 'FONS ET ORIGO.'

SINCE Professors Souter and Baxter (*Class. Rev.* XXXVI. p. 115) ask for more examples of this expression, let me call attention to Boethius, *Consol. Philos.* IV., *carm.* vi. v. 36:

Sedet interea conditor altus
rerumque regens flectit habenas
rex et dominus *fons et origo*
lex et sapiens arbiter aequi.

Here for once a poet uses the phrase as an anapaestic *metron* (for it is that as well as an *Adonius*).

Florus, the rhetor and historian, avoids the metrical order of the words, *Epit.* I. 41, 12: in *originem fontemque belli* Ciliciam.

Prudentius varies the expression in *Contra Symmachum* I. 72:

haec causa est et origo mali.

Instead of *origo* the same poet uses *fomes*, a word of which he is particularly fond,⁴ in *Hamartig.* 556:

ille quidem *fomes* nostrorum et causa malorum
est.

³ *Cf.* a somewhat similar 'prolepsis' at *Aeneid* iv. 534, 'en, quid ago? rursusne procos INRISA priores | experiar?' On this use of 'the emotional vocative' see Conington at *Aeneid* xii. 947.

⁴ *Contra Symmachum* I. praef. 25; *Peristeph.* x. 517, 680; *Hamartig.* 187, 114; *Apotheos.* 941, 927. *Cf.* also Boeth. *Cons. Phil.* I. 6, 48 (Peiper), 'fomitē salutis.' The word means successively 'fuel,' 'aliment,' 'cause,' and 'source.'

¹ The converse error 'celere' for 'celeri' occurs just above in line 1.

² For similar errors *cf.* the 'ul tu timido' of O at 95. 10; 'guiclero' at 66. 6; 'magna a(d)miremini' at 58. 5, and 'cimex animal' at 23. 2.

Paulinus of Nola adds yet another variation, elegantly alliterative, in *Carm.* x. 45 :

ueri bonique fomitem et fontem deum.

The Hague.

C. BRAKMAN.

REMINISCENCES OF PLAUTUS.

TWICE at least in later Latin occur reminiscences of *Captiui*, 32 (*nihil pretio parsit, filio dum parceret*) which it may be worth while pointing out : Augustine, *Ep.* 12 (p. 29, 15 Goldbacher) *dum sum parcus in uerbis, nihil parcas mihi*, and the still undiscovered author of the *Opus Impf. in Matthaeum*, *Hom.* 46 (*apud* Chrysost., ed. Gaume, VI. 937A) *sanctis meis non peperci ut tibi parcerem peccatrici.* J. H. BAXTER.

PLAUT. PSEUD. 1274.

To 'join' a dance, etc., was *se inferre* (with the Dative), Plaut. *Pseud.* 1274, *Pers.* 806. The mention of Ionic dance-steps in the first passage proves that the metre is Ionic; but while vv. 1275-6 suit Ionic metre, v. 1274 resists anything but what White (p. 188) calls 'free Ionics':

Ad hunc me modum intuli[t] illis satis facete
Nime (*leg.* nimis) ex disciplina, quippe ego qui
Probe Ionica perdidici. sed palliolatim amictus

(A Bacchiac Trimeter follows.)

In my *Early Latin Verse* (p. 262) I have retained the usual form of v. 1274, making the first foot an Antispast; but now I am not so convinced that *hunc* must be emphatic. The drunken self-importance of the speaker may have thrown the emphasis on *me*, and this allows a much smoother Ionic verse (with Anaclassis):

ad hunc me mo|d(um) intul(i) is sa|tis facete.

Is (Dat. Plur.), written *iis*, is often confused with *illis* (e.g. *Rud.* 219 *illis A: iis P*).

W. M. LINDSAY.

THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE OF SHIPS.

IN his note on p. 140 of the *C.R.* for August-September Mr. Allen continues his game of making 'booby-traps,' as he pleasantly names his errors. It is instructive to learn on his own authority that his Apparatus Criticus is just a big joke, a long series of 'booby-traps,' behind which their author sits chuckling at the silly scholars who accept his statements as seriously meant.

On B 855 he says 'the note in my forthcoming edition goes "*κρωμῶν* Bm4 P1 Zonar. 147, 28 *κρωμῶν* W3." I hope I have done right.' It is sad to have to disappoint so modest a hope, but Mr. Allen has not done right. He has gone wrong in his own sigla, and must try again.

After pleading guilty to such a series of bad mis-statements as cannot, I am sure, be matched in any Apparatus Criticus ever published, he sets up, apparently as a defence, that once I made an error in a paper published thirty years ago. True, I said that in P 748 the MS. Harley 1771 (my 'J,' Mr. Allen's 'Bm5') read

τερυχῆως, whereas it has in fact *τερυχηῶς*. I corrected the error myself, and did not perpetuate it in my Apparatus.

Mr. Allen complains that I 'imposed on him' in his first edition. But who was it that imposed on him in his second? There I read '*τερυχηῶς* h Bm5.' For this booby-trap, at least, I am not to blame. I wonder if it will reappear in the forthcoming edition?

WALTER LEAF.

PROFESSOR HALLIDAY ON 'THE ORIGIN OF TYRANNY.'

MAY I be allowed a few brief observations on Professor Halliday's review of my *Origin of Tyranny* which appeared in the December number of the *Classical Review*? The first concerns a point of detail. After rejecting what still seems to me the fairly decisive evidence for regarding the Diakrioi as the miners of the district round the ἄκρον Ἀθηνῶν, Mr. Halliday proceeds to suggest on the fanciful analogy of the 'mountain' of the French Revolution that the name was nothing more than a nickname denoting social status rather than local habitation. Aristotle did not think so. The *Constitution of Athens* says, on the contrary, that the Diakrioi got their name from their district (ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐργάζοντο), *cap.* 13 *fin.*). A few lines earlier in his review Professor Halliday grows sarcastic because, in the light of modern analogies, I have ventured to disagree with the Aristotelian interpretation of another point in what was already, for Aristotle, ancient history. Mr. Halliday's attitude is a little hard to understand. It appears to be that on points of fact Aristotle may be entirely mistaken, but that the inferences he draws from these mistaken premises are beyond question. This is the only detailed criticism in the review that calls for an answer; none of the others, even if they were supported by evidence, would seriously weaken my position. But the reviewer's general attitude towards my treatment of evidence invites one word of comment. He complains that my view of it is perverted by the spectacles through which I regard it. His use of the metaphor is unfortunate. It appears to have led him to assume that it is possible to look at the past through a medium that neither colours nor distorts. I confess to being less optimistic. I have openly asked my readers to put on a pair of economic spectacles, and of course things will look different if they put on another pair. What I do claim is that I have stated clearly the colour of my spectacles, and that with them I have examined from one particular angle, and that an important one, every fragment of evidence that I could find bearing on one important chapter of Greek history. For one particular set of phenomena I even venture to think that I have found the explanation. But I agree with Professor Halliday that 'to emphasise economic changes to the exclusion of other contributory causes is neither good history nor good sense'; in fact, I have already said so myself in less felicitous terms but also in a less misleading context in *The Origin of Tyranny*, pp. 304-305.

P. N. URE.

REVIEWS

WORD-ORDER IN HORACE.

Horace, Odes and Epodes: A Study in Poetic Word-Order. By H. DARNLEY NAYLOR, M.A., Hughes Professor of Classics in the University of Adelaide. 8vo. Pp. xxx + 274. Cambridge University Press. 20s.

THIS is a work of great labour. Professor Darnley Naylor, who has already published studies of word-order in Livy, has now made a similar study of the Odes and Epodes. It is impossible within the limits of a review to do full justice to his industry in the collection and classification of instances, but the results arrived at seem to be hardly commensurate with the pains spent. The book consists of an Introduction in which the author enunciates his thesis, and the text of the Odes and Epodes with notes that bear almost solely on questions of word-order.

Professor Naylor starts with the common case of a clause containing two substantives each with a qualifying adjective—e.g. *superiecto pavidæ natarunt æquore dammae*. He finds that in such cases the four words in question are arranged by Horace in no less than nine different orders, some of which are, of course, commoner than others, and that the verb, where it occurs, sometimes comes between the adjectives and the substantives and sometimes 'anywhere.' This classification is not in itself very helpful to the understanding of the poet or his art; for the Professor does not distinctly say that the different arrangements correspond to different degrees of emphasis. A little later on, however, we are told that where the adjective is 'preposited,' or comes immediately before its noun, or where it is separated from it, it is 'of more importance than the noun' (§ 27).

Now we are all familiar with this as a general principle in Latin prose authors, though most of us would have supposed that its application was to some extent restricted by considerations of assonance, rhythm, etc. Few of us would, however, have accepted it *a priori* as holding good for the poets or

stated it even for prose in quite such uncompromising terms. If it is true for Horace, the Professor has made an important contribution to the interpretation of his thought. It may be noticed that though the Professor regards some of the Odes (including i. 37) as showing signs of hasty work, he does not seem to hold, as some of us would, that in the Odes at the beginning of the First Book Horace is not yet completely master of his craft and still to some extent at the mercy of his metres. It is therefore, perhaps, not unfair to apply the Professor's principles to Ode i. 1 and see how they work out, and the less so that the metre of that Ode, at any rate for modern composers, is one of the easiest to manage.

1. *atavis edite regibus*: '*regibus*' is no doubt emphatic and also 'post-positive' and separated; but the Professor raises some doubts when he observes that *regibus edite* would 'scan equally well.' Horace does not end a colon in this metre with an open short vowel; *neque* in iv. 8. 20 is one of numerous reasons for suspecting that passage in which it occurs, and indeed the Professor himself brackets it.

2. *dulce decus meum*: why not *dulce meum decus*, which would scan? The Professor simply refers to other instances collected in the Introduction of the substantive standing between two adjectives. It might here be legitimately argued that there is some emphasis on *meum*, though, in the comparatively small number of instances in which a possessive pronoun and an adjective are combined with the same substantive in poetry, it is rather that the normal prose order seems to be instinctively avoided. But in iii. 6. 10 (*non auspicatos contudit impetus nostros*) is the position of *nostros* (though the word is necessary to the sense) really justifiable? Bentley, at any rate, thought not.

3. *pulverem Olympicum*: on the Professor's principles the adjective would be unemphatic; he has no note.

4. *metaque fervidis evitata rotis*: this is a variation of one of the Professor's types in which the adjective precedes the noun and the verb comes 'anywhere.' He does not say that *fervidis* is emphatic, but *viridi* (l. 21), *gelidum* (30), *leves* (31) are all explained rather ingeniously as such, and in the Introduction, § 27, the first two are explicitly said to be more important than their nouns.

5. Finally, in the crux in l. 6 the Professor's principles lead him, perhaps rightly, to regard *terrarum* as emphatic and contrasted with *deos*. But then, or indeed on any hypothesis, *nobilis* (*palma*) is at least as emphatic as *fervidis* (*rotis*), yet it is postpositive, not prepositive.

The discussion of this passage, which it is hoped is not unfairly chosen, seems to show that the Professor's conclusions above expressed are, to say the least of it, apt to do some violence to the natural meaning of a passage.

All these interpretations are more or less the logical consequences of the Professor's theory, and it is not perhaps only the almost personal resentment which one feels in being confronted with a wholly new view on so familiar a book as the Odes which makes one unwilling to accept them.

But the Professor has indirectly raised a very interesting question. When the Roman poets definitely took over from the Greeks their quantitative metrical systems, they put themselves at a considerable disadvantage, for they thereby excluded from their poetical vocabulary a number of words which they might otherwise desire to use. Moreover, the change came late in the history of the Latin language, when its morphology was fairly well fixed and its quantities stabilised.

Horace, however, is still further embarrassed. For various reasons he imposes upon the Greek lyric metres, which he adopts, a large number of restrictions which the Greeks did not impose. The consequence is that the position of an immense number of his words is fixed, so to say, beforehand. As *Maecenas* (or any other molossus) only come first word in an Asclepiad, second word in a Sapphic line,

and in an Alcaic stanza only in the middle of the third line. The miracle in Horace is, not that he arranges the words according to any mechanical rules of emphasis, but that he manages generally, though not always, to arrange them, if that is the right expression, in an order which is at once metrical, rhythmical, and melodious, and which does not lay a false emphasis on any one of them.

Space does not allow of a discussion of Professor Naylor's theory, with which his present researches are closely connected, that each word in Latin, as read or heard, suggests a distinct idea, and that these ideas are, so to say, provisionally grouped together in the mind in the order in which they are presented to it, which need not be, and generally is not, the logical and grammatical order that eventually emerges when the sentence is grasped as a whole. We are here on the border-line between grammar, logic, and psychology. But does it follow that because the words as heard succeed one another in a definite order, the mind receives the same number of successive and distinct impressions which it 'sorts' provisionally, subsequently submitting the sorting to some sort of corrective and unifying process? It seems difficult to believe that in *ventorum regat pater* (i. 3. 3) *ventorum* is at first felt as a 'Greek genitive of reference' (Introduction, § 40)—'as for the winds,' and that it is only when the clause is complete that the hearer readjusts this impression and 'takes' *ventorum* with *pater*. The modern habit of separating words in print seems to be partly responsible for this view of the 'unit of consciousness.' Indeed it is not easy to see what mental processes it implies. *Ventos regat* would apparently be felt as a unit; if *ventorum* were immediately followed by *pater*, we should have a similar unit. Would *ventorum* then still be felt as a 'genitive of reference'? or is it only so felt when *regat* appears instead of *pater*? and is this feeling then corrected by the appearance of *pater*, which finally determines the 'construction' of *ventorum*?

C. COOKSON.

CICERO'S *DE DIVINATIONE*.

M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione Liber Primus. Edited by ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE. Parts I. and II. 4to. Pp. 338. University of Illinois, 1920. \$1.50 each part.

CICERO'S philosophical works on religious subjects have not always received the recognition which they deserve. It is true that they are hasty compositions of the period of retirement, from 46 to 44 B.C., and are for the most part compilations—an exposition of the views held by the various prevalent schools rather than an outcome of his own reflexion. Nevertheless, they are peculiarly characteristic of the Roman mind, for which the more abstract and metaphysical problems of Greek philosophy had little interest; rather Rome turned to the practical moral questions raised by the Greek philosophers in the hope of working out a theoretical 'way of life,' and tried to apply philosophical speculations to religious belief and practice. Stoicism provided a ready means, and Panaetius—himself a sceptic in the matter of divination—gave Stoicism this peculiarly Roman twist; Posidonius threw himself more wholeheartedly into the task, and Cicero—as Mr. Pease shows in his Introduction—made full use of Posidonius. Warde Fowler complained (*Roman Ideas of Deity*, p. 6) that Cicero did not relate his philosophical thinking sufficiently closely to the life about him. That may be, if we are thinking of the ideas and practice of the man in the street, but there can be little doubt that Cicero's dialogues admirably represent the kind of discussion that was going on in the learned and literary circles, who were more interested in such fundamental problems as the existence and character of gods, the nature of fate, and the possibility of divination and prophecy, than in the performance of ritual or the scrupulous observance of domestic ceremonies. Thus these dialogues, for all their literary shortcoming and their philosophical weakness, have for us the peculiar interest that they represent the thoughts of educated persons in a time of great religious upheaval and uncertainty.

Of the *De Natura Deorum* we have long possessed the full and learned edition by J. B. Mayor, but a full-dress commentary on the *De Divinatione* has been urgently needed. Of the completeness of Mr. Pease's work on the first book there can be no doubt, and he promises us a like commentary on the second. In his Introduction he discusses the date and circumstances of the composition of the dialogue and at considerable length the sources on which Cicero drew, concluding that in the first book Posidonius was the source for the exposition of the Stoic point of view and Appianus Claudius Pulcher and Caelius Antipater the main authorities for the illustrative stories and incidents. With the text Mr. Pease professes no great concern, but he has provided a brief critical apparatus at crucial points, supplemented by occasional discussion in the notes, and promises at the end of the second book an appendix dealing with manuscripts, editions, and translations. His main interest lies, as he tells us, in the contents of the book. For their discussion Mr. Pease's commentary provides the fullest possible material; as one reads it, it is difficult to notice a single point or word on which a note might have been written and has not been. Mr. Pease quotes in full passages from other ancient writers which refer to any story cited by Cicero or any view which he puts forward; there are, too, abundant references to modern commentators and writers on Roman religion and on Anthropology in general. If it be the function of an editor to guide the reader to all possible sources of information on which to base his opinions, then we may say unhesitatingly that Mr. Pease's edition is 'definitive.'

Having said so much with a full appreciation of Mr. Pease's wide learning and the great value of his commentary, is it ungrateful to make a complaint as to the form of his work, and indeed to raise the question whether in the present conditions of classical scholarship this is quite the kind of edition which is needed. In

the first place, if one is reading the text and looking to the notes for help, the commentary is undoubtedly confusing; it is sometimes even difficult to pick out the thread of the main sentence from the entanglement of parenthetical references. Then, again, Mr. Pease shows an embarrassing modesty in putting before us in profusion the conflicting views of other commentators, and giving us very little lead to a conclusion; the average reader likes to know what his editor thinks a passage means, even if he does not agree. A more serious criticism would be that there is a want of sense of proportion in the notes. For instance, in XI. 17 Cicero quotes his own poem on his consulship; in a note of four columns—longer than any note on a point of divination—Mr. Pease discusses the question of the exact date on which this poem was written and whether there were two poems or one; in a previous quotation from Cicero's translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena* the word *acredula* occurs; it is interesting to know that it is doubtful whether this animal was a frog or a bird, and that Cicero regarded it as a sort of cicada, but the discussion is painfully prolonged. I do not wish to appear to attack exact scholarship—there must somewhere be discussions of this sort—but I doubt if the right place is a commentary on a work in which there is merely a casual mention.

Lastly, if I may be allowed one more grumble, Mr. Pease's main interest is

in the content of the book, that is presumably in divination and, as far as the first book is concerned, in the Stoic view of divination. Now scattered about the notes are admirable discussions of isolated points—e.g., of *exta* (p. 95)—where, by the way, there does not seem to be an adequate distinction between Roman and Etruscan methods and purposes of extispicium—of the sacred chickens (p. 131), of *lituus* (p. 140), and many others. But the reader has to piece all these together to obtain anything like a general view of what the Roman process of divination was. Would it not have been worth while to gather it all together in two introductory essays on Roman divination and the Stoic support of it? This would have been a great relief to overcrowded notes and a great assistance to the intelligent reading of the book; neither subject is too hackneyed to bear re-handling, especially with all the wealth of knowledge which Mr. Pease could have brought to bear on it.

I do not wish to minimise the great debt which we owe to Mr. Pease for a work of immense learning, which will certainly be the standard edition of the *De Divinatione* for a very long time, but I do find the commentary distracting and confusing, and I believe that for purposes of modern scholarship a rather different form of edition has got to be thought out: material must be used to the best advantage as well as collected.

C. BAILEY.

THE ROMAN FORT AT BALMUIDY ON THE ANTONINE WALL.

The Roman Fort at Balmuidy on the Antonine Wall. By S. N. MILLER, M.A., Lecturer in Roman History and Antiquities, University of Glasgow. 4to. Pp. xx+120. With 58 plates and 12 figures in the text. Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co., 1922. 21s. net.

BALMUIDY, or Bemulie, is the fourth of the nineteen forts on the Antonine Wall to be opened up by the spade. The Glasgow Archaeological Society made themselves responsible for raising the necessary funds, and it is they who

have borne the cost of publishing the Report. Mr. Miller was in immediate charge of the operations, which were begun as long ago as 1912. The closing stages of the work were at once hurried and hampered by the outbreak of the European War. To the same cause is due the delay in the issue of the present volume. The promising young architect who laid down the plan fell on a French battle-field. Mr. Miller himself was fortunate enough to return unscathed from active service. But it can have been no easy matter for him to pick up

the threads that Bellona's sword had so ruthlessly severed. In the circumstances he deserves to be warmly congratulated on the measure of success he has achieved.

The Report is indeed in many ways a model one. It is comparatively light and easy to handle. The typography is excellent. The illustrations are as abundant as they are admirable, thanks in no small degree to the generosity of Mr. John Annan and to the personal trouble which he took. What is more, they are as a rule placed exactly where it is most convenient for the reader to find them; while reference is greatly facilitated by the ingenious way in which lettering has been introduced into the photographs. The text may be pronounced worthy of the setting it has received. Mr. Miller writes easily and well. He has digested his material thoroughly, and has been at pains to familiarise himself with the necessary 'literature.' As a result, his exposition is scholarly, lucid, and interesting. Even the somewhat complicated problem presented by the fort bath-house is unravelled in a fashion that is easy to follow. Nowhere is there any of that piling up of irrelevant or superfluous details, which makes some excavation reports difficult for the most hardened of experts to assimilate. The treatment of the pottery may be cited as typical. While it is commendably brief, all the essential points are recorded, the obvious deductions are drawn, the material for supplementing or correcting these is left readily available, a proper sense of proportion is maintained.

In some directions the outcome of the digging fell short of the hopes that

had been cherished. The site had been more thoroughly plundered than had been suspected. Consequently the epigraphic harvest was meagre; even the name of the regiment that formed the garrison remains unknown. Further, a systematic endeavour to locate the rubbish-pits, which had proved so fruitful at Newstead and elsewhere, led to nothing, perhaps because it had to be broken off prematurely. Nevertheless, the results were of solid and substantial value. They confirmed in a striking and satisfactory manner the tentative conclusions that had previously been reached as to the history of the Wall of Pius. They have put it beyond doubt that, within the limits of a brief life of forty odd years, the forts were twice swept with the besom of destruction. Only on one point of importance am I disposed to differ from Mr. Miller. I think he is too prone to despair of a first-century occupation. He declares it to be 'now as certain as negative evidence can make it' that Balmuildy was not the site of one of Agricola's *praesidia*. But the latrine of the second-century fort is in exactly the same case as Agricola's *praesidium*. No trace of it was found. And when one remembers the character of the evidence of Agricola's presence elsewhere upon the isthmus, and the extent to which luck is entitled to the credit for its recovery, one cannot but feel that the apparent lack of anything of the same sort at Balmuildy is far from conclusive. If more exhaustive probing had been practicable, what is unquestionably an *a priori* probability might well have been verified.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

A LARGE ESTATE IN EGYPT IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.: A Study in Economic History. By M. ROSTOVTZEFF. One vol. 10" x 6½". Pp. xi + 209, with three photographic facsimiles. Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 6, Madison, 1922. \$2.00.

IN the history of papyrology there have been several discoveries of archives,

whether of a family or individual or of some official authority; and such discoveries, illustrating with peculiar minuteness the activities of a limited circle, are often of greater value than more miscellaneous finds, whose evidence, though less restricted, is also more desultory. Among them there is none which surpasses in interest, as there are few which can rival, the archive

of Zeno, son of Agreophon, found at Darb el-Gerza, the ancient Philadelphia, in the Fayum. Zeno, a native of Caunus in Caria and with relatives at Calynda, was one of those innumerable Greeks who during the times of the Diadochi and Epigoni, when the political and economic centre of gravity had shifted to the new Graeco-Oriental monarchies, sought a career in Syria or Egypt. It was to the latter country he made his way, took service under the *dioecetes* or Finance Minister Apollonius, and eventually, about the year 256 B.C., was sent to Philadelphia by his patron to superintend the great *δωρεά* of 10,000 *arourai* which the latter had received from the king. The career of Apollonius ended in disaster at the beginning of the reign of Euergetes, but Zeno was able to escape the wreck of his patron's fortunes, and continued to live at Philadelphia, where his archive was found. Unfortunately the discovery was made by natives, with the result that the find has been much scattered. Only the smallest portion of the whole has yet been published; many papyri, including some of the finest, are still in private hands.

It might seem, then, premature for Professor Rostovtzeff to bring out the present volume, which is an intensive study of the light thrown, primarily on the *δωρεά* of Apollonius, but secondarily also on the colonisation of the Fayum and the general economic policy of Philadelphus, by the Zeno archive and, to a less extent, by earlier discoveries such as the Petrie papyri. This view would, however, be mistaken. Doubtless many of Rostovtzeff's inferences may require amplification or modification later, but the main lines of the organisation which he sketches can already be discerned, and the present volume, in which the scattered and imperfectly annotated material is brought together and interpreted by a scholar whose qualifications for such a task are known to all, will be of enormous service to the editors of the yet unpublished material and to all students of the Zeno papyri. He shows here once more the grasp, the constructive imagination, and the power of educing from a mass of details the

principles behind them which his previous works have taught us to expect; and his treatment of his subject is very thorough. After a preliminary account of Philadelphia (and here it may be noted that our knowledge of its later history is likely to be increased in the future, for there are many Philadelphia papyri on the market at present) and of the careers of Zeno and Apollonius, he deals first with the *δωρεά* in general and then with that of Apollonius in particular in all its aspects, following up this discussion with a concluding chapter, in which he sketches in a masterly manner the general conclusions obtained. There are appendices, full of acute observations, on various points of detail, addenda in which is incorporated the evidence of the later-published Cairo papyri and of certain London papyri copied by myself, and excellent indices. Facsimiles are given of two Cairo papyri and of P. Lille 1.

As already said, Rostovtzeff's conclusions may hereafter be modified in detail by new material; and even on the basis of the papyri already published it is sometimes possible to dispute the opinions he expresses. There are, too, occasional signs of haste, not always due to the incorporation of new evidence at the last moment. If, however, I conclude this notice with some criticisms of single points it is not with any intention of minimising the value of Rostovtzeff's work, but rather from a conviction of its importance.

In note 31 on p. 18, on P. Lond. Inv. 2089, there are several rather dubious statements. Theodorus does not actually ask 'for a salary not less than the salary received by Kleon'; he merely states what the latter's salary was. Nor can I see any justification for the suggestion that the salary was given 'in a private way, as a kind of bribe.' Theodorus's statement that ἀφ' οὗ τέταρται τ[οῖς ἐργ]οῖς ἀρχιτεκτονικοῖς he has received no salary ἀπὸ (ἐξ) οὗ λς seems to rule out the idea that he was at first only 'a sub-engineer.' On p. 22, the inference from the paucity of Greek papyri of the first half-century of Ptolemaic rule that 'the Greek bureaucracy whose activity created the Greek archives of the Ptolemies . . . was itself a creation of the second Ptolemy' seems to me very hazardous. What of the almost equal paucity of papyri of the first century B.C. and the fifth of our era? In the latter case at all events the cause can hardly be the absence of a bureaucracy. The

Tubias mentioned on p. 25 has been dealt with by H. Gressmann in an important article, unknown to Rostovtzeff at the time he wrote, in the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* (1921, pp. 663-71). I do not believe the statement on p. 37 that the Aphrodite of P. S. I. 328 was Isis. Isis was often identified with Aphrodite, but the regular equation of Aphrodite was with Hathor, and the *ἑσείς* here mentioned is doubtless the sacred cow of Hathor, as Spiegelberg (the name is misprinted in R.'s note) pointed out. On p. 53 R. mentions 'the *πρεσβύτεροι* of Memphis.' I have elsewhere (*Aegyptus*, III., p. 101) suggested, on the analogy of a London papyrus, that the reading in P. S. I. 627 is *τοῖς πρεσβυ[τέροις στρατιώταις]*. On p. 57 there is a surprising mistranslation of the last sentence of P. S. I. 500. R. writes: 'About the rest Jason and Panakestor himself, to whom I wish a happy arrival, will inform you.' The meaning really is: 'About the rest J. and P. himself will inform you, as soon as you arrive (as I hope you will) in good health.' The mistake is unfortunate, for it leads R. to a serious misconception of the whole position. There is another slip on p. 61, where R. attributes to Petechon in P. Petrie II. 4, 4 (so, not II. 13, 4, as R.) the words *διὰ τὴν κ.τ.λ.*, which occur in the letter of Clearchus. His emendation of l. 3 gives the correct sense, but not the actual words; his *ἐμ[ε]* is really *ἐγώ*, as an examination of the original (now P. Lond.

513) has shown me. Hence R.'s *γ[ί]νεσθαι* must be changed to *γ[ί]νομαι* or *γ[ί]νῃσομαι*. On p. 75 the rendering 'because there is no intelligent person to manage the agricultural work' is not very exact; better 'because there is no expert in agriculture.' On p. 103 the statement that Zeno is asked 'to give the order to release the wine owned by Damis' can hardly be true; the subject of *προστάξει* (P. S. I. 508, 7 f.) should be Damis, and at all events cannot be Zeno. On p. 109 the statement that 'the grown calves . . . seem to have been distributed among the men connected with the estate' (P. S. I. 409), would appear (if I rightly understand R.) to depend on taking *παρά* with a genitive as = 'in the possession of'; but can this rendering stand? On p. 123 R. is wrong in speaking of P. Lond. Inv. 2305 as fragmentary; the papyrus is complete. On p. 149, R. says it 'is not quite certain' that Zoilus was 'the central oecome of the whole nome'; but surely P. Lond. Inv. 2094 (not 2096, as R.) implies this: *διὰ τὸ προστεκέναι σε τοῦ νομοῦ*. In note 106 on p. 151 the reference to 'P. Lond. Inv. 2079' should be deleted. On p. 175 R. speaks of 'Zoilus, son of Telestes.' The Greek is *Ζώϊλος Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ Τελέστου ἀδελφός*, which surely means 'Zoilus, son of Asclepiades, brother of Telestes.'

H. I. BELL.

RESEARCH BY THE METHOD OF COMBINATION.

Roemische Studien: historisches, epigraphisches, literargeschichtliches aus vier Jahrhunderten Roms. Von CONRAD CICHORIUS. Pp. viii + 456. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. 16s. unbound, 20s. bound.

THE combination of this with that relic of the past and the building of theories on such scanty basis is in fashion in Germany (Norden, Cichorius, etc.) and has spread to the United States (Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace*, 1920). It is precarious, for mere accident has disposed the jetsam of the flood of time, but can, after due sacrifice to the goddess Commonsense, yield good results. The first chapter of this book is a favourable example.

From Verrius Flaccus (ap. ps.-Acr. in Hor. C.S. 5), Varro, *de Scaenicis Originibus* (ap. Censorin.), we learn that the first Ludi Saeculares were held in 249 B.C. and that *carmen cantatum inter sacrificia*. Presumably the *carmen* was a choric hymn. Who composed it? Livius Andronicus. For he came from Tarentum, and the ceremony was called *ludi Tarentini*, i.e. the imitation of a

similar Greek ceremony at Tarentum. His *carmen* would be a translation or adaptation, in Saturnian metre, of a Greek hymn, a chorus in honour of Dis and Proserpina. Now Varro (*L.L.* 6, 94) cites the word *inlex* from a *chorus Proserpinae*, i.e. this hymn of Liv. Andr. (not a fragment of a tragedy). And when the Roman government in the year 200 ordered a religious hymn to be composed by P. Licinius Tegula, Livy (31, 12, 5) says that Liv. Andr. had been the composer long before (*sicut patrum memoria Livius, ita tum . . . P. Licinius Tegula*). The phrase *patrum memoria* cannot be adapted to so recent a date as 207, when Liv. Andr. composed another hymn (Liv. 27, 37, 7: *in Iovis Statoris aede discerent conditum ab Livio poeta carmen*); it must refer to a much earlier occasion, i.e. the hymn of 249 B.C. The death of Liv. Andr. may be placed between 207 and 200.

So far the footing is fairly sound, and Cichorius rightly chides Leo for declaring Livy to have used the phrase *patrum memoria* inaccurately of the

year 207 (Leo was a great upholder of Horace's motto: *et mihi res non me rebus subiungere conor*). But Cichorius goes on to discredit Festus (and certainly Festus often misrendered Verrius Flaccus). Festus ('p. 333 M.,' Cichorius; but why not 446, 29?) says the house on the Aventine was given to Liv. Andr. in the second Punic War *quia prosperius respublica populi Romani geri coepta est*. Festus, says Cichorius, is in error. The gift was made in the first Punic War, since the Sibylline oracle of 249 B.C. is echoed (*bellum adversus Carthaginienses prospere geri posse, si, etc.*). Here Commonsense twitches the trembling ear. Is the phrase *prosperere gerere* so unusual as all that?

Then—another step on loose sand.

Since Varro mentioned the earliest Ludi Saeculares in his *De Scaenicis Originibus*, therefore they must have had dramatic features. So we may antedate the Roman Drama, etc. No; sooner or later we part company with the Combinationsforscher.

Still, we have no wish to cavil. This book is crammed with excellent discoveries in Roman literature, history, and epigraphy. Everyone should read it, but read it with caution. The truth is that the Germans are too imaginative for that kind of work. And the Americans bind themselves to the German chariot-wheels. It is a work for the sober-sensed Englishman.

But Englishmen are so lazy!

W. M. LINDSAY.

MERRILL'S EPISTLES OF PLINY.

C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum libri X. Recensuit ELMER TRUSDELL MERRILL. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xxiv + 315. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1922. M. 80 (gs. 9d.).

IN this volume Professor E. T. Merrill redeems the promise in the preface to his *Selected Letters of the Younger Pliny*, 1903, to publish 'a critical edition of the complete correspondence.' With the aid of competent co-workers, among whom he specially mentions Mr. F. E. Robbins and the late Miss Dora Johnson, he has collected and ordered the evidence of three families of MSS., the 'Ten-Book,' the 'Eight-Book,' and the 'Nine-Book,' covering the whole field of our knowledge. The work of collation and presentation appears to have been done with care and thoroughness; and the completeness of its record of the variants in the manuscript tradition will give this edition a permanent value. Fresh discoveries are not likely now; and from the fragment of an eleventh-century MS. in the library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, thought by its discoverers to belong to the Paris manuscript of the first family lost soon after 1500, of which Mr. Merrill gives a collation in an Appendix, we get nothing new. The editor's major interest is in the history of the text, which he has elucidated with skill and

patience. He has a minor interest in the text itself. His critical principles are stated on p. xx: 'Cuiuscumque enim familiae lectiones sunt, expendi debent. Nullus uero codex, nulla codicum familia mendis uacat, et "ratio et res ipsa," ut Anglus ille doctissimus adfirmare audebat, "centum codicibus potiores sunt." Editoris autem fastidium uel deliciae nunquam pro ratione et re ipsa ualere possunt.' The professions are unexceptionable; but the heart is cold. We may wonder that after nineteen years an editor of the Letters of Pliny has so little to offer for the improvement of a literary work which extends to three hundred Teubner pages. The correction of the numeral (XIII. for XII.) in V. 16. 2 was in the text of the *Selected Letters*, the slight change of 'ac iam' for 'et iam' VII. 27. 8 is now relegated to a footnote, and of the two or three new suggestions perhaps the best is that in IV. 11. 6 the '*maximillam* uestalem' of BF may conceal '*maximam illam* Vestalem.'

This 'fastidium editoris' already evident in the *Selected Letters* has done less harm than it would have if the traditional text had been worse attested. In editing Pliny's Epistles the chief task is to choose between variants. A comparison of this edition with that of the 110 select letters

shows little difference between them. The few changes are generally for the better, but not always. For example, in II. 12. 1 'circumcisum tamen et adrasum' *ad-* MV, not *ab-*, is demanded by Latin usage, and in X. 18. 1 '*ei nauigationi*' is abandoned for the meaningless '*et.*' Mr. Merrill's judgment upon variant lections is generally sound. But neglect of idiom or of textual probability leads him from time to time astray. II. 11. 24 '*tunc enim, casu an conscientia, afuerat*' is left with a solecism, though F has '*incertum*' before '*an,*' and omissions of single words are common enough in the MSS. At II. 14. 3 '*ne nobilissimis quidem adulescentulis locus erat*' the MSS. are divided between '*adulescentulis*' BF and '*adulescentibus*' MV; but, as Pliny is speaking of the good old times when youth knew its place, '*adulescens*' is more appropriate than the diminutive, which may easily be a mere repetition of '*adulescentuli*' in § 2. V. 6. 4 is read '*caelum est hieme frigidum et gelidum; myrtos oleas quaeque alia aestiuo tempore laetantur aspernatur ac respuit*'; but M has '*adsiduo tempore*' (compare '*adsiduo frigore*,' *Ov. Tr.* III. 2. 8) and D '*assiduo tempore*,' and it is clear that BF's '*aestiuo tempore*' is merely a scribe's correction to make '*assiduo tempore*' correspond to '*hieme.*' At IV. 12. 3 '*heredes scribae sibi, praefecti aerari (aerario) populo uindicabant*' the '*populo*' which he adopts from BF is due to a simple misunderstanding of the antithesis of '*sibi*' and '*populo.*' In V. 16. 7 '*uestes, margaritas, gemmas*' the '*margarita*' of M is to be preferred as better sounding and more likely to have been altered. Several easy and acceptable corrections of common clerical errors are refused, *e.g.* at I. 5. 3 '*lacerat Herennium Senecionem tam*

intemperanter quidem ut dixerit ei Mettius Carus' Madvig's '*lace<ra>rat*' is necessary; but at III. 5. 5 on the elder Pliny's literary work '*quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit ac perfecit*' the timeless present '*perfecit*' should have been taken. III. 7. 13 '*quod tot milibus tam brevis immineret occasus*,' '*brevis occasus*' is without meaning or parallel, and Mr. Merrill accepts Keil's '*breui*' for '*breues*' in X. 34. At VI. 21. 1 he reads '*Sum ex iis qui mirentur antiquos.*' MDoux have '*mirer*,' and whence '*mirentur*' comes is not stated. Even without the support of I. 2. 3, Gierig's '*Sum ego is qui mirer*' is obviously more probable. VII. 27. 6 '*interdiu quoque, quamquam abscesserat imago memoria imaginis oculis inerrabat.*' The Princesps and the Aldine editions long ago corrected this to '*inhaerebat*' (the converse confusion at Manilius II. 71): '*inerrare*' is not the same as '*oberrare*' (IX. 13. 25). VII. 28. 1, '*Ais quosdam<me> apud te reprehendisse*' should be read with Casaubon, and immediately below '*qui sunt tamen isti qui amicos meos <me> melius norint*' with Mommsen, or '*melius me*' with Casaubon. Some of Mr. Merrill's spellings might be improved, '*bybliotheca*' and '*semenstris*' are better attested than '*bibliotheca*' and '*seimestris*.' So '*prohoemiatur*' (II. 3. 3) and '*-is*' in the Acc. Plur. '*omnis*,' '*imitantis*,' etc., in several places. But he is to be congratulated upon his revolt from convention in writing *u*'s, not *v*'s. Mr. Merrill's use of the obelus for deep-seated corruptions is (perhaps intentionally) sparse. But if we have it at X. 22 (med.) and 113 fin. we might expect to find it, *e.g.*, at III. 6. 3 '*a tergo quoque eadem aetas ut a tergo*' and X. 118. 1 '*itaque eorum uehementer addubitem*' and in the following section.

J. P. POSTGATE.

VERGIL: A BIOGRAPHY.

Vergil: A Biography. By TENNEY FRANK, Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University. Basil Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford, 1922. 7s. 6d. net.

THE process of rehabilitating antiquity is not unlike that of setting up a jig-saw

puzzle. Every bit that can be certainly fitted in helps every other bit. Some outlying fact, some fragment, whether literary or archaeological, may remain for centuries unrelated. It seems peculiar and unaccountable; the restorer tries it here and there, but it never

quite fits. Suddenly something else is fitted in, and in a moment the exact place of the odd-shaped fragment is revealed in a quite unexpected quarter.

This may perhaps turn out to be the case with some of the outlying fragments with which Professor Tenney Frank deals in his new and most interesting *Life of Vergil*. His work at any rate is full of ingenuity, excitement, and possibility. If only a few of the identifications and adaptations he attempts are certain these alone would give us a great advance, and the possibility of still further discovery.

Let it be said at once that some of his identifications are almost certainly proved, and that not a few others seem very probable; and that, whether he establishes his whole case or not, ever so many of his suggestions are such as cannot be neglected by any future student.

It may be said, indeed, that in his eagerness to employ his new method and his new material he has abandoned too much of the old.

In its outline the life of Vergil has always been known. The place and time of his birth and death, his education, his friendship with Horace and Propertius, with Pollio, Maecenas, and Augustus, his general character and temperament, his great fame, beginning in his lifetime and never ceasing—all this has long been common knowledge to scholars.

It is generally accepted that the so-called *Life of Donatus* is based on Suetonius, and in Suetonius' time there can be no doubt that there was abundance of material for any biographer who thought fit to use it.

Vergil, retiring as he was, did not live in a corner. He was as well known in his time as Tennyson. If he did not move in society his friends did. He became a school-book and a professors' classic directly he died. It might be thought, then, that the traditional life would be fairly accurate. But fame and popularity breed gossip, fiction, and careless ascription.

When we remember that directly after Tennyson's death well-informed persons continued to assert that the Pilot in 'Crossing the Bar' was Arthur

Hallam, we can understand the strange assertions of scholiasts and grammarians about Vergil. Still, the presumption is on the whole rather in favour of than against tradition.

Professor Frank goes far to accept it. He accepts the bulk of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, as he says, 'at its face value.' What, then, are his main discoveries?

That Vergil went at an early age to Naples; that he immersed himself there in the 'Garden School' of Siro; that he then finished the *Culex* and began the *Ciris* and the *Aetna*; that he next wrote the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* and *Aeneid*; that he remained, generally speaking, an Epicurean to the end of his days; that Vergil was well-to-do from the first; that the early epic he began to write was on the exploits of Julius Caesar; that in the Civil War he served on board ship in the Adriatic, and served on land at Pharsalia; that Siro's villa was near Naples, and that it was there that Vergil's father came when he lost his property; that Vergil probably never went again to Lombardy; and, perhaps most important of all, that the 'scenery' of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* is to be sought, not in Lombardy, but in Campania.

That Professor Frank has proved all these points, not to say all the others which he makes, can hardly be conceded. Chronology is against some of them. The evidence for others is very thin. The pathos of Vergil's allusion to the dead bodies on the battle-field of Pharsalia hardly proves that he saw them with his own eyes. Some of the flora and fauna of the *Eclogues* cannot belong any more to Campania than to Lombardy. Lions, for instance, were not found in either in classical times, as Vergil himself records with much satisfaction. That Vergil's father was a self-made man who began with a small property, *recola*, and if a potter, still, not a rich earthenware manufacturer, seems pretty certain. But in the brief space here available it is not possible to give either confirmation or contradiction. What can be said is that Professor Frank has certainly suggested new methods, and smelted some new and precious ore out of the old scoriae.

Some new pieces he has fitted into the literary portrait of Vergil, which, like that preserved at Tunis, is a mosaic.

For this all lovers of Vergil would thank him, even were his results more scanty and less probable than they

are. And English scholars will thank Mr. Blackwell for having included an English edition of this volume in his fresh and various and helpful series of 'Vergilian Studies.'

HERBERT WARREN.

HERODAS: HEADLAM AND GROENEBOOM.

Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments.

With notes by WALTER HEADLAM, Litt.D.; edited by A. D. KNOX, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 3 guineas.

Les Mimiambes d'Hérodas, I.-VI. Avec notes critiques et commentaire explicatif par P. GROENEBOOM, Professeur à l'Université de Groningue. Groningue: Noordhoff, 1922.

IF Herodas in the shades is capable of any generous emotion, which I doubt, he must blush to think of the stores of erudition and exquisite scholarship which have been poured out in the elucidation of his thin, flat, scanty, and unattractive works. This thought is suggested even by Kenyon's *Editio Princeps*, deepened by the work of Crusius and Meister and Nairn, and trebly confirmed by the two important commentaries now before us. But, of course, Herodas need not imagine that it is his personal merit that attracts editors; it is his newness and difficulty and the number of odd problems that he raises. He is a very good peg on which to hang such learning as Walter Headlam's. Headlam expounds in the introduction his method of composing a commentary: 'Learn your author by heart, every word, and then set to work to read.' And he has certainly followed it with rich results. On doubtful points of Greek diction one used to search for an instance in Sophocles in order to consult Jebb; on points where 'parallel passages' were needed one used to think of Juvenal in order to get at Mayor. In both cases henceforth, and almost to an equal degree, a scholar will look to Herodas. I know no commentary which shows such intimate knowledge of late Greek literature. And though the book was left unfinished by its author, and has had to be completed from old notes scattered among

many sources, the editing and tidying up has been admirably done by Mr. A. D. Knox.

The introduction perhaps suffers most. It leads up to Herodas by a historical account of Greek literature, which, in spite of many good observations, remains sketchy and incomplete. There are also some slips. On p. ix Herodas wrote 'between 270 and 250 B.C.'; on p. xxxi he is 'later than 247 B.C.' Again, on IV. 67 the translation does not agree with the commentary. As this seems to be a reflection on Mr. Knox, I hasten to add that the second introduction, on purely technical matters, which is the editor's own work, is full of value and interest.

It is somewhat remarkable how quickly the main puzzles surrounding the text of Herodas have been solved. Discovered in 1891, by the time of Dr. Nairn's edition in 1904 the papyrus had reached the stage of an intelligible and fairly established text, comparable to that of the great classics which had been worked at since the Renaissance. Consequently there is no epoch-making advance in the general interpretation of the text to be found or expected in this edition. What there is is a much more intense criticism, backed by a knowledge of Greek as minute as it is wide-reaching, though not perhaps by an unerring judgment.

Too early to make use of Headlam, and too late to be used by him or his editor, Professor Groeneboom, of Groningen, has just published an edition of Herodas I.-VI., which, except that both are highly competent books, forms in almost every respect a striking contrast to Headlam's. Headlam's book is *αὐθάδης*, hard to find your way in, with little care for proportion. It treats Herodas chiefly as a peg on which to hang its massive and varied knowledge.

Professor Groeneboom's book is by no means deficient in learning, and even in rare erudition, but it is neat, clear, well arranged, and to the point. The notes confine themselves, almost always, to explaining the difficulties in Herodas. They are written in French, and have the French habit of writing rather fully and never crowding the information. They pay regular attention not only to the evidence of papyri and odd corners of literature (*cf.* I, 37, on *θακοβαλπάδος*, 'broody,' as the name of a hen; 3, 22, on the possibility of a deliberate solecism in *βώσαι*), but also to excavation and archaeological studies; see especially the use made of Gurlitt and Herzog in 4. On the other hand, Groeneboom's judgment on points of text is perhaps not so fine as Headlam's (*e.g.* I, 46, *τί οὖν φής*, not good; I, 81, *ἰδρῶνι*, surely impossible).

These points can perhaps best be illustrated by reference to one continuous passage. Let us take Mime IV., the Visit to the Temple.

The distribution of speeches to persons in both H. and Gr. is better than in previous editions. Verse 5: H.'s suggestion that in *Ἰγυείης* the *υ* can be long is surely risky, and not justified by the possible *ἀστραγάλοι*, III. 7. Gr. more wisely admits -υυ- for the first two feet; *cf.* I, 67, *Γυλλί τὰ λοιπά*. Even less can I believe in *τὴν ἐπιούσαν*, VIII. 79; the reference to Sophron (*ἐγκύκρια ὡς εἶω*) amounts to little. In the same order of problem is H.'s reading in v. 75, where he interprets *ΑΛΛΩΙΠΙΝΟΤΝ* as *ἀλλ' ὃ οἱ ἐπὶ νοῦν*, surely a monstrous crasis, and not defended by *ὦ οἶνοχόος* and *ῥνος* (*ὦ οἶνος*?) in the *Cyclops* 560 (*ὃ ἐπὶ*, Gr. with rather unsatisfactory explanation).

11. *οἰκίης τοίχων κήρυκα* conclusively justified and explained by H.

24, 38. Herbert Richards' conjecture *αὐτὴν* rightly accepted by H. His *ἐτέρης* rightly rejected and *ἐτύμης* conclusively explained (*αὐτά* but *ἐτύμης*, Gr.).

33. The passage in the *Agamemnon* about Iphigenia, *πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσενέπειν θέλουσα*, oddly and, I think, wrongly explained by H. Iphigenia was 'as in a picture,' not because people in lifelike pictures seem

almost to speak, but because, though wishing to speak, she could make no sound.

36. Does H. sometimes out-Herod Herodas in the explanation of these allusions? I am not sure, but Gr.'s note here is sane and sufficient.

43. Interesting note on *μή τιν' ὄρην . . . πεποιήται*. Does *μή* imply an oath, 'I swear she has not attended' (H.), or a question, 'Has she attended to one word?' as Gr. takes it? *Cf.* the well-known Aristophanic passages with the future, *μή γὰρ σ' ἀφήσω*, etc., which may mean, 'Do you think I am going to let you go?'

47. *ἴσου κείσαι* H. ('your value is the same'), good, but not conclusive for P.'s doubtful reading; *ἴσ' ἐγκείσαι* ('you are equally an affliction'), Kenyon; *εἰκὴ κείσαι* ('you lie about anyhow'), Gr.

52. *καρδιηβολεῦ* Paton's clever conjecture improved and justified by H.

50 and 57. Excellent and new observations by H. on *ἡμέρη κείνη* without the article, on *ἐρεῖς* (*dixeris*, 'you would say if you saw') and on Ellis's emendation *καινήν Ἀθηναίην*, which he rejects.

57. Is not the simpler reading right? *οἷ' ἔργα κείν' ἦν*, 'What works they are—and were all the time when we did not know them, and people told us about them.' This is the normal meaning of the idiomatic *ἦν* or *ἦν ἄρα*, 'really is.' (*οἷ' ἔργα κείν' . . . ἦν*, H., *ἦν* being an exclamation. *κοινήν Ἀθηναίην*, Gr., not satisfactory).

74. You cannot say of Apelles, as of an ordinary artist, *ἐν μὲν εἶδεν, ἐν δ' ἀπηρνήθη*. Headlam translates: 'He looked with favour on one thing and fought shy of another,' and observes that *ἀπηρνήθη* cannot mean 'he was denied another.' But surely the natural meaning is not that Apelles was indiscriminate in his subjects—which he was not—but that he could do anything he chose. You could not say, 'He saw one thing, but another was denied him.' This passive use of *ἀπαρνοῦμαι* is much easier to justify. (So also Gr.)

86. *μέγιστε* addressed to Asclepius; good note in H. showing the importance of this. Asclepius is supplanting Zeus.

95. The difficult end of this mime remains unsolved, though Reitzenstein

seems to me to have found the right general sense: 'Health is greater than Fortune,' μέζων ἢ 'Τῆς ὑγίης ὅτι τῆς μοίρης. The commentators cannot resist making 'Τῆς ὑγίης = 'Holy Bread,' and μοίρη = 'the priest's portion.'

In Mime VII. Headlam proposes an interesting way of escape from the well-known difficulty about the prices of the shoes. The shoemaker asks a mina (say, £3 10s.), has been offered five staters (£5 12s. 6d. ?), but won't sell even for four darics (£4 8s. ?), whereas the price of an ordinary pair of shoes seems to have been about two drachmae. The ways out of this complicated con-

fusion are many and devious and unsatisfactory. Headlam simply thinks that the prices are intended to be grotesque, as though in a modern mime the shoemaker were to bargain for ducats and moldores in gigantic numbers.

These notes perhaps give some idea of the average quality of the two commentaries, but, of course, they can give no conception of Headlam's whole work as a monument of wide and exact learning. It is without doubt that rare thing, a classic commentary, and is likely to remain not only the chief edition of Herodas, but one of the chief thesauri of Greek scholarship.

GILBERT MURRAY.

ROME, GREECE, AND ASIA.

Rome, la Grèce, et les monarchies hellénistiques au III^e siècle avant J.-C. (273-205). By MAURICE HOLLEAUX. (Vol. 124 of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.*) 8vo. Pp. iv+386. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1921.

M. HOLLEAUX' numerous *Études d'histoire hellénistique* have long foreshadowed a larger work. This book, written with the learning which one expects from the author and the lucidity of exposition of which France possesses the secret, examines in detail the relations of Rome with Greece and the East during the third century. Its object is to prove that during this period Rome had neither ambitions nor a policy with regard to the world beyond the Adriatic. The Senate was indifferent to Greece, afraid of adventure, and incapable of long views; they interfered only when compelled, and got out again when they could; of any *esprit de suite*, of any definite aim of conquering the East or even securing influence in Greece, there is no trace. It is not a new idea, of course; but of recent years the school which believes that Rome pursued a methodical plan of Imperialist ambition has been in the ascendant on the Continent (though in Britain we have had Heitland's more moderate views, which Holleaux does not notice), and this study is very welcome. Point by point, almost word by word, the whole story and the possible explanations are

carefully analysed, and it seems to me not doubtful that, taken as a whole, the author proves his contention. Certain items may, however, require modification. Much seems to depend on the precise dissection of Livy into Polybius and Annalists; I do not know myself if this can really be done with the accuracy which Holleaux assumes. On most of the stories of contact between Rome and the Hellenistic world prior to 229 he is conclusive, but I feel some reserve about Acarnania in Justin 28, 1 seq. Granting the hopelessness of Justin's details, still how can we be *certain* that Acarnania did not send envoys to Rome, as Apollonia had already done? Compare, for instance, the story in Justin 15, 2, 3; practically every word is untrue, but—Heracles *was* murdered. Then there is Rome's non-interference in the Social War. Holleaux argues that Rome, having made an enemy of the Antigonids, should have supported Aetolia in 218; as she *could* have sent ships and did not, evidently she had no wish to. But in reality, whatever Rome wished, her hands were tied. In 218 she had only 160 warships in home waters, and she could not guess that Carthage would not mobilise at least her two regular divisions, 130 ships, (Carthage did more in 212), and fight at sea. Till Rome was sure (autumn, 217), she had no margin for sideshows.

The documented part of the book

ends with 205. But the author is engaged on a study of the second Macedonian war, to which his readers will look forward; for he appends to the present volume a sketch of his main conclusion, which is exciting enough. In 200 Rome turns right round and discards her former indifference; she suddenly manifests a vivid interest in the goodwill of Greece, and hurries, brutally and without pretext, to attack Macedonia. The reason suggested is that she had heard that Philip and Antiochus (whose power she exaggerated and dreaded) had combined and would master Egypt. Presumably (though Holleaux does not go quite so far) Attalus told the Senate that unless they hastened they would find themselves at war with all Alexander's empire at

once. It follows that Rome had no more of a fixed policy in 200 than in 229 or 212; she conquered the East through an accident.

The book has a full index and a useful list of passages and inscriptions critically examined. A welcome addition would have been a list of all the author's special studies bearing on the period, of which fifteen are referred to *passim*. The references on p. 268 should be *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, 1920, 138-143 and 113 *suiv.* respectively. I note two mistakes: p. 110, I did not say that Atintania was Macedonian 'jusqu'en 230' (it was apparently independent, Polyb. 2, 11, 11); and p. 335, Cary's article does not defend the pretended Rhodian treaty of 306.

W. W. TARN.

PHAEDRUS SOLUTUS.

Phaedrus Solutus vel Phaedri fabulae nouae XXX. quas fabulas prosarias Phaedro uindicauit recensuit metrum-que restituit CAROLUS ZANDER. Pp. xcii + 71. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, etc., 1921. 10s. 6d. net.

DR. ZANDER's book (forming Vol. III. of the publications of the Societas Hum. Litt. in Lund) is another essay to recover poems of Phaedrus latent in low-Latin prose fables. His account of the problem leaves something to desire in point of lucidity, and his Latin is not always elegant or even correct.

Ademar, a monk of St. Martial at Limoges, in the eleventh century, made a collection (*a*) of prose fables, 67 in number; of these, 31 derive from the earlier compilation of one Romulus, 5 are of uncertain origin, and 31 are Phaedrine: that is to say, 11 are paraphrased from extant Phaedrine fables and 20 more are claimed for Phaedrus by Zander.

In a eleventh-century MS. of Wissembourg there are 48 others, of which Z. takes 5 for Phaedrine. This collection (W), as well as that of Romulus (whose date is undetermined), alike derive from a fabulary known as *Aesopus ad Rufum*. From Romulus Z. takes another 5. Total 30 new fables alleged to be by

Phaedrus, leaving a residue which nobody credits him with.

The problem is to discern whether a given fable belonged to Phaedrus or to an anonymous Latin Aesop in prose, which Thiele claims to trace back to the second century p.-Chr., assigning its Greek (prose) original to the century before. Z.'s method is to take the 13 undoubtedly Phaedrine fables of codex *a* and study the processes of the diaskeuast.

The diaskeuast unfastens the verses, abridges the narrative, modernises the diction, and sometimes interpolates explanations. One may doubt how far he was working for the behoof of possible readers and how far performing an ordinary exercise. This point might have some importance in the evaluation of his language; I do not notice it raised in Z., who devotes 30 pages to the examination and arrives at the result that the diaskeuast belongs to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. The Prolegomena (of 92 pages) are animated by a pleasant vein of protest against Thiele: Z. seems to be in the right, but his Latinity is not a very handy weapon for controversy or for exposition. Dr. Postgate's Phaedrus text of 1919 contained only ten fables reconstructed out of the Para-

phrasts, Z. presents us with thirty. Of so large a creation he must expect jealous scrutinies; for it is a tempting exercise to hitch the paraphrast into senarii and father the product on Phaedrus. But to do the trick, you require a fine sense of different Latinities besides a thorough familiarity with Phaedrus' diction and metric. Z is not very satisfactory in the vindications offered for some of the Latin which he prints as *metrum restitutum*: e.g. in II. 5

cum uenissent causam exponere

he cites Phaedrus to prove that *causa* = a suit and that *exponere* is a Phaedrine word, but leaves unattested what is far more questionable, the construction *uenissent . . . exponere*. (The Paraphrast has *ut . . . exponerent*.) So in IX. 6 *it siluas leo* needs defence. I cannot say that such a verse as

ignorant uice de ipsorum quid agatur pari
saviours of Phaedrus to my palate; or that I find

qui tali se calcare permittunt (III. 8)

at all convincing. *Ibid.* II *nequam* is pointless.

Z. is too fond of imputing to Phaedrus lines like

aqua sancti fontis cibus et mihi mundus datur
(V. 8)

and

hunc hominem qui medicatus erat aegro pedi.
He often gives an improbable order of words, misplacing emphasis. Fable XI. (which preserves three senarii) has the words

felices qui ullum despiciunt.

Of this Z. makes

felices qui despiciunt *humilem et pauperem*.

These words would not have surprised us in the Paraphrast. They do not explain *ullum*. Does not *ullum* as well as the very form of the sentence imply that the moral is 'Lucky is he that can afford to despise anybody'? The right version of the promythium of this fable seems to be

dubiam meminerint esse Fortunae rotam.

On p. 27 we miss a reference to Hesiod's *αἴψος*. In XVII. 9 *eos teneri iussit* gives a false emphasis: *homines teneri iussit* would pass. In XVIII. 2 for the Paraphrast

inuenit anserem se creberrimis mergentem
undis

probably we should restore not

undis se crebris uidit mergentem anserem,

but

inuenit undis mersitantem se anserem.

In XVIII. 17

is debet uel peiore finire nece

is not at all vindicated by *malum finire* which Z. adduces. In XX.

pulex erat cameli dorso in sarcinis

the ablative without *in* is questionable, and the whole verse does not fit the Paraphrast, which has

culex dum forte in cameli dorso morasset cum
omnibus sarcinis.

Z. is right in plumping for a flea and not a gnat,

pulex enim et potuit esse uiuus in sarcinis et
saliens ut est dici (!); culex non item

—though his Latinity is below his commonsense. He has no doubt closely studied Phaedrus' vocabulary, but in XXIV. 18 the Biblical flavour of *carni omni*, in XVI. 8 the liturgical echo in *digne et iuste*, do not alarm him and he credits Phaedrus with both.

It would be easy to multiply criticisms in detail to show that Z. was less well aware of the delicacy of his task than was Dr. Postgate, though even *his* Phaedrine restitutions have not passed unchallenged. Instead, I will contrast the respective texts of one of the fables that are common to both (all but one of Dr. P.'s new ones—*Asinus immiseri-cors*, iv.—are in Z.). The specimen shall be *Vespertilio* (Zander XII., Postgate X.). According to Z.:

Bellum gerebant uolucres cum quadrupedibus,
Et uincebantur iterum uincentes modo.
Tunc uespertilio, dubios euentus timens,
Quam primo superiorem partem uiderat
Eo se conferebat <fortunae comes>.
In pacem <fessi> cum redissent pristinam,
utrique generi fraus detecta apparuit.
Damnatus ergo tam pudendo crimine
lucem refugiens se tenebris condidit.
Qui uindicari uult duabus partibus,
ingratus hinc utrisque uiuit turpiter.

According to Dr. Postgate:

Bellum gerebant uolucres cum quadrupedibus
et modo uincentes uincebantur denuo:
at uespertilio, dubios euentus timens,
<aciem> quam primo superiorem uiderat,
ad eam se conferebat <fortunae comes>.
<mox, res> in pacem cum redisset pristinam,

utrique generi fraus detecta apparuit.
damnatus ergo tam pudendo crimine
lucem refugiens tenebris se atris condidit.
Qui se duabus partibus commiserit
utrubique ingratus uiuet et turpis sibi.

Considering that three lines are imbedded unbroken in the paraphrase and two more hardly altered, from the divergences in restoring the other half-dozen it will be seen that the pastime

of producing 'synthetic' Phaedrus is full of hazard and agreeable speculation. A good deal of Z.'s new Phaedrus needs revision, but his book is a help to the study of the problem. His method of presenting the text is convenient—text of Paraphrast confronted by text of Phaedrus restitutions. The type is clear and the misprints are few.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

THE EDUCATIONAL THEORY OF PLUTARCH.

The Educational Theory of Plutarch. By K. M. WESTAWAY, D.Litt. London.

THIS little work is evidently a labour of love, and also one that has involved serious work under favourable conditions. The writer was a classical scholar and subsequently a research student of Newnham College, Cambridge, who continued her studies at Leyden, where Dr. Hartmann encouraged her researches in the philosophy of Plutarch. The book is brightly written, and calculated to give the reader a living interest in an important period in Graeco-Roman culture. The only persons likely to be disappointed in it are any who may look to it for a regular system of pedagogics. Plutarch was indeed an educator, who spent many years in lecturing to young men and a few elders; some, indeed, of his chapters have actually to do with the ways in which knowledge should be imparted and received. But he is first and foremost a moral philosopher. We cannot look to him for suggestions to help in modern pedagogic difficulties. In his days there was little rivalry between science and humanities—since natural science was scanty, though Plutarch was conversant with what was already known; with mathematics he was, apparently, not much concerned. History, literature, and above all—or rather permeating all—was the science of morals, including, we may say, for the decently bred Greek youth, the art of good manners. The moral side of learning is almost too apparent in his treatment. But his moral science is always in touch with life, and, in its highest aspects, with religion.

Miss Westaway has chiefly to do with the essays which form Plutarch's *Moralia*. Her references to these collected essays are mainly to the originally Dutch edition by Wytenbach, though she also refers to Volkmann, Oakesmith, Gréard, and others, and most particularly to Hartmann. It might seem a pity that she does not, for English readers, mention the vigorous translation by Philemon Holl (part of which is now accessible in 'Everyman's Library'), and to the versions published at Oxford and Cambridge (of Prickard, C. W. King, Shilleto, and Tucker).

Education, with Plutarch, includes the moral

training of oneself, and the arts of listening, reading, and lecturing. True to his principles of γνώσι σεαυτὸν and μηδὲν ἄγαν he held that the sharp distinction between the virtuous and the vicious character had been overstated by Stoic moralists, and that progress should be continually made in the subjugation of passion to reason, symptoms of advance or decline being carefully noted. In literature and history, the moral aspect is always to the fore. 'To Plutarch and the pupils whom he is addressing, the greatest benefit to be derived from the study of literature is the improvement of character.' Not only so, but he actually censures those students who read Plato and Xenophon for enjoyment simply, without any view for their moral purport. Similarly with history (Miss Westaway specially notes, however, that Plutarch lays no claim to being an historian proper), 'he cannot see that an historical person is but a component part of an indefinitely large organic whole. . . . Given certain moral ideas with a personal bias, which he wants to confirm and illustrate, he finds them in individual heroes of past ages.' Perhaps many appreciative readers of Plutarch will wish that he had not written *de malignitate Herodoti*, but this attack was partly due to patriotic prejudice.

The reader who notes the perpetual presence of moral intention in life and education as Plutarch would have them might fancy that he should be condemned as an embodiment of what we call priggishness. But Plutarch is well redeemed from any such imputation, both by his exquisite sense of humour (which might be exemplified *ad infinitum*) and by his loftiness of soul, shown especially in the comprehensive and spiritual character of his eclectic and optimistic religion.

In the latter part of her work, and indeed all through it, Miss Westaway has many attractive and well-expressed suggestions as to Plutarch's times and our own, his relation to Plato, his serenity of soul, which is, after all, one of his most striking qualities. The book affords abundant material for reflection, and it will encourage all readers to renewed study of one of the most cosmopolitan, most human, and most friendly of philosophers and of men.

ALICE GARDNER.

ARISTOTLE *DE CAELO* AND *DE GENERATIONE ET CORRUPTIONE*.

The Works of Aristotle translated into English: De Caelo. By J. L. STOCKS, M.A., D.S.O.; *De Generatione et Corruptione.* By Professor H. H. JOACHIM. Two parts in one. 225×145 mm. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1922. 10s. net.

Aristotle on 'Coming-to-be' and 'Passing-away' (de Generatione et Corruptione). A Revised Text, with Introduction and Commentary. By HAROLD H. JOACHIM, Wykeham Professor of Logic in the University of Oxford. One vol. 235×145 mm. Preface, etc., pp. xxxviii; Texts, Notes, and Indices, pp. 303. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1922. 32s. net.

THE Editor and the Delegates of the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated on the steady progress which is being made with the Oxford translation of Aristotle, in spite of the present difficulties of publication. Of the eleven volumes contemplated, five have already appeared and substantial portions of three others.

The translations of the *de Caelo* and *de Generatione et Corruptione* now before us will, with that of the *Physics*, form a complete volume, dealing with closely related subjects. The *Physics*, the first part of Aristotle's work on Natural Philosophy, discusses the 'natural body' (*φυσικὸν σῶμα*) in general. In the *de Caelo* he treats of the five simple natural bodies which form the physical universe, the Aether, whose motion is circular, and Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, whose motion is rectilinear. The First Book of the *de Caelo* deals with the heaven or upper cosmos, which is composed of aether, and is one, unchanging, ungenerated, indestructible and perfectly spherical, and has regular circular motion. In this aether are the heavenly bodies, the discussion of whose composition, movement, order, and shape forms perhaps the most interesting part of the treatise. The Third and Fourth Books deal with the four elements, Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, which make up the sublunary sphere, the lowest stratum being the Earth, upon which first Water, then Air, then Fire,

are superimposed. Throughout Aristotle states and criticises the views of his predecessors.

Mr. Stocks takes the Teubner text of Apelt as the basis of his translation, but he has further collated the important Vienna MS. J. (Vindobonensis phil. Graec. 100). His departure from Apelt's text are indicated in the footnotes, which contain not only many necessary corrections of misprints and of bad punctuations, but also many textual improvements, almost invariably supported by the weight of MS. authority, conjectures being rarely admitted.¹ The notes also contain luminous explanations of a number of difficult passages. The translation is vigorous and readable, and there is an adequate index, the complete list (S.V. Text) of passages dealt with in the critical notes being particularly valuable.

The *de Generatione et Corruptione* discusses the *πάθη* to which the natural bodies in the sublunary sphere are liable—namely, 'coming-to-be' (*γένεσις*) and 'passing-away' (*φθορά*). In the First Book these processes are explained and distinguished from 'alteration' (*ἀλλοίωσις*) and from 'growth' and 'diminution' (*αὐξήσις καὶ φθίσις*); incidentally the views of Anaxagoras and Empedocles are examined and shown to be inconsistent. In the second half of the book it is shown that what 'comes to be' is formed by 'combination' (*μίξις*) out of certain natural constituents, such 'combination' implying 'action' and 'passion' (*ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν*), which in their turn imply 'contact' (*ἀφή*). The Second Book proves that the material constituents of all that 'comes to be' are the elements or 'simple bodies'—Earth, Air, Fire, and Water—and shows the manner in which they are transformed into one another, and how they

¹ At 281a 1, while fully agreeing with the interpretation, we would suggest that the conjecture of γάρ for δέ seems unnecessary in view of the fact that Aristotle frequently introduces an additional point by δέ where γάρ might be expected. At 292a 26 Bywater's *κακοντίσεως* for the meaningless *καὶ κορίσεως* seems a certain emendation which might well be adopted.

combine. Aristotle then briefly discusses the material, formal, and final causes of 'coming-to-be' and 'passing away,' in particular criticising the theory of Socrates in the *Phaedo*. He further states that the efficient cause of the double process is the sun's annual movement, and in conclusion shows that what 'comes to be' is 'necessary,' since absolute necessity is characteristic of a sequence of events which is cyclical, that is to say, continuous and returning upon itself.

Professor Joachim's translation is made from his own text contained in the edition also before us. In fact, the edition, as the author tells us, grew out of the translation, in the preparation of which he realised that something more was demanded than a mere translation of a treatise which continually calls for commentary and illustration, and of which the traditional text is defective.

Professor Joachim dedicates his edition to the memory of the late Professor Bywater, and in his Preface acknowledges the debt he owes to him and to other fellow-members of the Oxford Aristotelean Society. The text is preceded by an Introduction—a model of conciseness and clearness—dealing with Aristotle's conception of 'science,' and the place of the present treatise in his writings on natural philosophy. The text, which is accompanied by a full *apparatus criticus*, rests on a new collation of six MSS (E F H J L and Db), whereas Bekker relied on four only (E F H and L), and his collations are, as Professor Joachim shows, not infrequently inaccurate. Use has also

been made of the commentary of Philoponos and various Latin versions, in particular that of Andreas Asulanus in his edition of Averroes' commentary. The result is that we now possess for the first time an adequate text of what the Editor justly calls 'Aristotle's fascinating and masterly little treatise.'¹

The notes, while treating fully of questions of text² and interpretation, also deal with the countless allusions to the views of Aristotle's predecessors and contemporaries, and to his own theories in other treatises. There are very complete indices, both of the text and notes.

Professor Joachim's edition and admirable translation together supply for the first time a complete equipment for the student of this important treatise, and constitute a valuable addition to the already large contribution which British scholarship has made to the study of Aristotle. It is the first 'full dress' edition which the Oxford Translation has brought into being, but it is good news to hear that we may shortly expect an edition of the *Metaphysics* by the Editor of the Translation.

EDWARD S. FORSTER.

¹ Attention may perhaps be called to a hesitation in the text between the alternative spellings γίγνεσθαι and γίνεσθαι (e.g. 315a 23 γίγνεται, b 25 γίνεται) and οὐδέν and οὐθέν (e.g. 328a 15 οὐθέν, 329a 15 οὐδέν). It is a discouraging task to try and discover inaccuracies in a text printed by the Oxford Press, and the only suggestion we can offer is that τισι (315a 9) lacks an accent!

² A good example of Professor Joachim's method is his justification of the conjecture αὐλός (322a 28, 30) for the un-Aristotelian αὔλος, which has hitherto held the field.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(JUNE—AUGUST, 1922.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—J. A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* [Berkeley, California, 1921, The University of California Press. Pp. vi+275] (Drerup). These eight lectures belong to the most important publications of the last decades in the field of Homeric research. Reviewer gives detailed summary and criticism.—K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonautika. Untersuchungen zur griechischen Sagen-schichte und zum Epos* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. Pp. 121] (Hausrath). Fresh and

energetic, with clear vision and sure judgment; much is problematical, but M.'s main contention that *Odyssey* κ and μ are taken from the Argonaut legend is right and valuable.—T. von Scheffer, *Die Schönheit Homers* [Berlin, 1922, Propyläen-Verlag. Pp. 238; 27 plates] (Bethe). S. is a stimulating and enthusiastic guide to the masterpieces of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; will be welcome to all lovers of poetry.—I. L. Heiberg, *Paulus Aegineta. Pars Prior=Corpus Med. Graec.* IX. 1 [Leipzig and Berlin, 1921, Teubner. Pp. 368] (Fuchs). Learned and trustworthy.—B. Lavagnini, *Le origini del romanzo greco*

- [Pisa, 1921, Mariotti. Pp. 104] (Hausrath). Industrious collection of material; deserves consideration, if not altogether convincing.—B. A. van Groningen, *De Papyro Oxyrhynchita* 1380 [Diss. Groningen, 1921. Pp. 84] (Weinreich). G. first examines details of text (reviewer criticises freely), then general character, arrangement, and sources; 'Invocation' of Isis rightly explained as based on Egyptian models.
- LATIN LITERATURE.**—A. Gruner, *De carminum Horatianorum personis quaestiones selectae* [Diss. Halle, 1920] (Rosenberg). Shows sound judgment and wide knowledge of classical literature.—A. Klotz, *C. Julius Caesar. De bello Gallico, ed. maior* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. Pp. xxviii + 289] (Aly). K. is a reliable guide.—K. Witte, *Der Bukoliker Vergil* [Stuttgart, 1922, Metzler. Pp. 73] (Güthling). Rightly draws attention to a noteworthy correspondence in the technique of Theocritus and Vergil. Reviewer disagrees with W.'s interpretation of the Eclogues.—J. D. Meerwaldt, *Studia ad generum dicendi historiam pertinentia. Pars I.: De Dionysiana virtutum et generum dicendi doctrina* [Diss. Amsterdam, 1920, Kruyt. Pp. x + 100] (Ammon). Methodical and solid work, distinguished by acute interpretation and textual criticism; much above the average dissertation.—O. Hense, *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistularum moralium editionis Teubnerianae Supplementum Quirinianum* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. Pp. 12] (Busche). Indispensable to all interested in the MS. tradition of Seneca's letters.—E. Löfstedt, *Zur Sprache Tertullians* [Lund, 1920, Gleerup. Pp. 117] (Bitschofsky). Contributions to the language and syntax of Tertullian.
- HISTORY.**—M. Gelzer, *Caesar der Politiker und Staatsman* [Stuttgart and Berlin, 1921. Pp. 234] (A. Klotz). Clear and intelligible; complete account of historical events.—Marion E. Parks, *The Plebs in Cicero's day* [Diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1918. Pp. 90] (A. Klotz). The scanty known facts are collected and brought into the right light.—E. Täubler, *Die Vorgeschichte des zweiten punischen Krieges* [Berlin, 1921, Schwetschke and Son. Pp. 121] (Lammert). Study of the treaties enables T. to throw light on this important period; a book which brings Ancient History back to life, and should be widely read.
- PHILOSOPHY.**—T. von Scheffer, *Die homerische Philosophie* [München, 1921, Rösl and Co. Pp. 140] (Sitzler). Intended and well suited to make known to a wide circle of readers the Homeric conception of the world.—F. Klingner, *De Boethii consolatione* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. Pp. 120] (Weinberger). Shows conclusively that Boethius was equally conversant with Greek philosophy and Christian literature and applied the former to solve Christian theological problems.—S. Eitrem, *Beiträge zur Griechischen Religionsgeschichte, III.* [Kristiania, 1920, in Kommiss. bei Jacob Dybwald. Pp. 202] (Kappus). Series of loosely connected investigations; the completeness of the material collected is of real assistance.
- ARCHAEOLOGY.**—K. A. Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten* [Berlin, 1921, Schoetz and Parrhysius. Pp. 132; 8 figures in text, 67 illustrations on plates] (Ippel). Stimulating and not too technical sketch of a subject still lacking more comprehensive treatment; illustrations chosen from less hackneyed examples.—B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905. Herausg. von Th. Wiegand. Vol. I.* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1921, de Gruyter and Co. Pp. x + 130; 89 figures in text, 135 plates] (Thomson). First part of monumental work on Baalbek. Vol. I. deals chiefly with the famous temple; Vol. II. will describe the minor ones; Vol. III. the Christian and Arabic remains and the inscriptions. Reviewer warmly praises thoroughness of whole undertaking, elaborate and detailed plans, restorations, etc.
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- NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLASSISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC. (ILBERG).**
- (XLIX./L. 4, 5, 6/7, 8, 9, 10. 1922.)
4. John A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* [University of California Press, Berkeley, 1921] (F. Stürmer). A fourteen-column analysis of this book, in which Stürmer confines himself to reproducing Scott's arguments without criticising them.
 8. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Griechische Verskunst* [Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1921] (A. Körte). A long account of this book. K. criticises the general arrangement and many details severely, but emphasises the unique value of much of W.'s work.
 9. E. Drerup, *Homerische Poetik. I. Bd.: Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart*, von E. Drerup. III. Bd.: *Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee*, von F. Stürmer [C. J. Becker, Würzburg, 1921] (G. Raddatz). Elaborate and on the whole unfavourable review. Grudging praise is given to some of D.'s literary criticisms. R. handles with especial severity D.'s division of the poems into rhapsodies, and the mathematical rules of structure which he formulates. Vol. II. (*Die Rhapsodien der Ilias*, von E. Drerup) had not appeared when the review was written.
 10. P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik. Dritte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage I.* [Leipzig, Hirzel, 1921] (E. Bethe). C.'s industry is highly praised. He has covered the whole field and has mastered all previous work; but B. hints that his judgment is sometimes at fault. A second volume (revised after the author's death by E. Bruhn) awaits publication.—J. Schmitt, *Freiwilliger Opfertod bei Euripides* [Giessen, A. Töpelmann, 1921] (K. Kunst). Favourable, despite much detailed criticism.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—Latin is said to be a terse language, but I believe I have succeeded, in the accompanying versions, in rendering every word of Catullus' poems from twelve-syllabled to ten-syllabled lines. May I add that I have lately found in a school edition of Catullus, published by Parker of Oxford in 1818, a translation of the *Phasellus* into Greek iambics, line for line, by Joseph Scaliger.

Yours faithfully,

PHILLIMORE.

Cam House,
Camden Hill, W. 8.
October 27, 1922.

CATULLUS IV.

This pinnacle which ye travellers behold
Saith that she was the swiftest of all ships,
And that no craft that floats had pace enough
To pass her, whether speedy course were made
With blade of oar or canvas duly set.
She challenges denial from the shores
Of fearsome Adria, from Cyclad Isles,
From noble Rhodes or rough unkindly Thrace,
Fierce Sea of Marmora or Black Sea coast
Where our new pinnacle once grew as a wood
Thick set with leaf: for oft Citorus' height
Heard music issue from the speaking leaves.
Amastris by the sea, Citorus rich
With boxwood, this ye know and well have known,

The pinnacle saith. She in her primal state
Stood as she says upon your highest top,
First dipped her oar blades in your calmer sea,
Thence bore her master through such countless waves

Raging in vain—on port or starboard tack

As came the breeze, save when a kindly Jove
Strained either sheet with wind that follows aft.
No vows to longshore Gods were paid for her
When his last venture brought the master home
And she from sea passed to this limpid lake.
But these are former haps. She now laid up
Ages with calm repose, self-dedicate
To thee, twin Castor, and thy brother twin.

CATULLUS XXXI.

Sirmio, the pearl of all that islands be,
Or nearly islands, all those that recline
On lakes or either broadly bosomed sea,
To thee with joy and gladness I return
And scarce believe I see you and am safe,
Escaped from Thynian and Bithynian fields.
O what is happier than when freed from care
The mind puts off its burthen, and worn down
From toil abroad we reach our home and hearth
And rest us in our long-desired bed,
Even for toils so great reward enough.
Hail, lovely Sirmio, joy thou in thy lord!
Joy all ye Lydian waters of the lake!
Laugh all ye smiling spirits of my home!

To the Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—Will you allow me the hospitality of your columns to make it known that I am undertaking the translation into English of E. Rohde's *Psyche*? If there are any others already engaged in the same task I should regard it as a very great favour if they would communicate with me in the matter without delay.

Yours, etc.,

W. B. HILLIS.

St. John's School,
Leatherhead, Surrey.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Barnard (F. P.) A Fardel of Epigrams. 6" x 4½". Pp. 114. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 3s. 6d. net.

Benson (A. C.) The Reed of Pan: English renderings of Greek Epigrams and Lyrics. 8" x 5½". Pp. xviii + 246. London: John Murray, 1922. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Butler (A. J.) Amaranth and Asphodel. Poems from the Greek Anthology. 7" x 4½". Pp. xxii + 278. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Butler (H. E.) Apuleius, Cupid and Psyche. 7½" x 5". Pp. 128. Oxford: University Press, 1922. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

Calder (G.) *Togail na Tebe*. The Thebaid of Statius. The Irish text, edited with introduction, translation, vocabulary, and notes. 9" x 5½". Pp. xxiv + 432. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. Cloth, 42s. net.

Classical Philology. Volume XVII. October, 1922. No. 4. 9½" x 6½". Pp. iv + 283-388. Chicago: University Press.

Conway (R. S.) The Making of Latin: An Introduction to Greek, Latin, and English Etymology. 7½" x 4¾". viii + 146. London: John Murray, 1922. Cloth, 5s. net.

Cumont (F.) After Life in Roman Paganism. 9½" x 6". Pp. xvi + 224. New Haven: Yale University Press. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 15s. net.

Dornseiff (F.) Pindars Stil. 9¼" x 6¼". Pp. 135. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1921. Paper.

Drachmann (A. B.) Atheism in Pagan Antiquity. 9" x 5½". London: Gyldendal, 1922. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Fowler (J. H.) The Life and Letters of Edward Lee Hicks. 9" x 5½". Pp. xii + 310. London: Christophers, 1922. 10s. 6d. net.

Frazer (Sir J. G.) The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion. Abridged edition in 1 vol. 9" x 5½". Pp. xiv + 756. London: Macmillan, 1922. Cloth, 18s. net.

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The Classical Review

MAY—JUNE, 1923

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THE general meeting of the Classical Association was held at Bristol from April 10 to 12. The meetings were partly at the University, where the members were delighted to see the new buildings nearing completion, and partly at Clifton College, where Dr. Mackail delivered the presidential address (shortly to be published in *Proceedings*), and Dr. Sheppard lectured in his inimitable style on the *Hecuba*. The other lectures and papers delivered were also of great interest. The antiquities of the district were dealt with in short papers by Mrs. Dobson on its prehistoric remains, Mr. Trice Martin on Caerwent, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley on Corinium, and by Professor Fawcett on the architecture of old Bristol. Professor Conway lectured on 'The Birthplace of Virgil'; Dr. Glover on 'Herodotus and the Gods'; Professor Dobson on 'The Significance of Certain Greek Rhythms'; and Mr. G. M. Cookson on the *Prometheus Vincetus*. There was a discussion on the teaching of Latin in the new secondary schools, and Professor Sonnenschein spoke on 'Recent Progress in the Movement for Grammatical Reform.' The Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University gave a reception to the members at the Victoria Rooms, and there were excursions to the Roman baths at Bath, and to Wells, where the Bishop and the Dean received the members with the greatest courtesy. The exhibit of classical books recently published was most interesting. The thanks of the Association are especially due to Professor and Mrs. Dobson, who made the meeting a great success by their excellent arrangements.

Under the stage-management of Professor Ernest Gardner, the *Birds* of Aristophanes will be produced in Greek by members of the University of London at King's College on June 27 at 8 p.m., June 28 at 3 p.m., and June 29 at

8 p.m. Particulars may be obtained from Dr. C. M. Knight, King's College, Strand, W.C. 2.

The Manchester University Press, in a circular announcing a volume entitled *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, which will appear in September, points out that 'the lengthy list of [Ramsay's] writings, which serves as preface to this volume, will show that upon every one of the numerous subjects therein illustrated he has made a deep and lasting impress. To his efforts it is largely owing that the interior of Asia Minor, which was almost unmapped when he began his travels in 1880, has become one of the most instructive regions for the study of Hellenistic, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian history. The book now presented to him has been designed to exemplify recent progress in all important branches of Anatolian research from Hittite to Byzantine times. It combines the unity implied in its title with the broadest variety in archaeological, historical, topographical, and linguistic investigation.' There are thirty-two contributors, drawn from Russia, Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, France, Italy, America, and Britain. The volume is offered at a reduced price to those who subscribe to it before June 30. Particulars may be had from H. M. McKechnie, Esq., 38, Derby Road, Withington, Manchester.

Few men have deserved better either of Classical scholarship or of Classical scholars than Father F. Ehrle, S.J. (now Cardinal Ehrle), who has done so much to make the Vatican Library an accessible and comfortable centre of study. His eightieth birthday is approaching, and a large and influential committee, representative of Europe and America, has issued an appeal for subscriptions to a volume (or, rather, three volumes) of *Miscellanies* in his honour. British subscribers may communicate with Dr. T. Ashby, the British School, Rome.

THE JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

The *Journal of Philology*, founded by Cambridge scholars in 1868, came to an end with its thirty-fifth volume in 1920. An index to the whole series has now been compiled, under the auspices of the Cambridge Classical Society, and will be issued early in 1923. Subscribers to the *Journal* and others who wish to obtain copies of the index should apply to the Treasurer, Cambridge Classical Society, University Press, Cambridge. The price of the index will be 5s., post free.

THE DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE OF THE *OEDIPUS COLONEUS*.

THE object of this essay is to answer the question, 'What is it that makes the *Oedipus Coloneus* different from other plays—different not in the normal and expected way, but in a way that grows more insistent and more disturbing the longer the play is turned over in the mind?' This sense of distress, as at something amiss, has, I have found, been experienced by others besides myself; it has been expressed to me by those with whom I have read the play; and when I turn to written criticism, I find it there also—vague dissatisfaction, hints that the *Oedipus Coloneus* is overcharged with discussion, so that its action moves too slowly to keep alert the attention of the spectator; and most theatre-goers are spectators, φιλοθεάμονες rather than φιλόσοφοι, as every dramatist well knows. Even if the picturesqueness and pathos of the play be so great that the spectator is enthralled, yet at the end he will feel that the appeal to expectancy by which the drama usually holds him has scarcely been made; he inevitably summons up the *Oedipus Tyrannus* for comparison; of course he knew how that would end; he knew that Oedipus had to learn the horrible truth; nevertheless, from the opening lines of Oedipus' last breathless questionings of the Theban herdsman to his last shriek *ἰὸν ἰού· τὰ πάντ' ἂν ἐξήκοι σαφῆ*, he was kept at the highest tension by his desire to know *how* the truth would come forth. From that line onward, expectancy sinks satisfied; and though he may watch with no less eagerness to the end, it is another kind of appeal that is made. Expectancy sinks, not wholly away, but to the second place; a thoughtful emotion rises as the after-effects of the answer that satisfied expectancy are presented.

But it is to this after-following thoughtful emotion that the *Oedipus Coloneus* from beginning to end appeals; and I would suggest that it is in fact a long and highly-wrought presentation of after-effects. After-effects of what? Of something that has happened before the play begins, yet that corresponds in dramatic function precisely to the

final enlightenment of Oedipus in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. That point in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*—the point where Oedipus learns that the oracle of Apollo has come true, and that for years he has been, as it said he was to be, the murderer of his father and the husband of his mother—is in dramatic terminology the Peripeteia of the play. To quote Professor Norwood's essay on *The Nature and Methods of Drama*, the Peripeteia of a play is (p. 176) 'the culmination of the whole drama, providing the information or enlightenment necessary to the dénouement . . . a sudden blow which alters the relations between person and person, between the various aspects of the situation.' Clearly, then, the Peripeteia of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* is the point at which Oedipus learns the terrible position into which he has blindly trodden, and in which for years he has been blindly standing. And the after-effects which form the *Lusis* are the suicide of Jocasta, his self-blinding, and his determination to go into life-long exile. In the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the three stages, *Desis*, *Peripeteia*, and *Lusis*, are unmistakable. In the *Oedipus Coloneus* I wish to show that we have the third stage only, and that the Peripeteia of the whole story involved has taken place before the opening of the actual play.

The Peripeteia, of which the *Oedipus Coloneus* gives the result, is a second enlightenment of Oedipus; his enlightenment concerning the nature of his supposed sin of murdering his father and marrying his mother. When first the knowledge of these acts was revealed to him, the horror of it blotted from his mind the distinction between ceremonial and moral guilt; he could see nothing but the pollution, past all cleansing, of the undeniable deed. But as years passed by, he grew to realise that these things were not the same, and that he was, and always had been, undefiled by moral guilt, because his deed was unconscious and not deliberate. *ἄκων*, 'not wilfully,' becomes his watchword. However, this change of heart was not due solely to the

reflection that time and suffering engendered; there was a second propelling cause, and that was supplied through memory. He remembered other words of Apollo—a prophecy that he should die in precincts sacred to the Eumenides, and that on his death he should be a bringer of blessings to those who possessed his grave, and of destruction to those who had lost him. Of this prophecy we hear nothing in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*; he seems to have forgotten it; at any rate, he did not then realise its meaning; how could he? Yet by the time that the *Oedipus Coloneus* opens, he has both remembered and understood it. In his prayer to the Eumenides at Colonus he says:

Be not ungracious; kindness done to me
Is done to Phoebus with me; long ago
When from his lips I heard that oracle,
That list unending of my woes to be,
He came at last unto another word,
Rest, after many years: that rest is here.
Yea, thou shalt reach a land that is thy goal,
(So ran his words), and there a welcome find,
Where dwell the goddesses most holy; there,
Poor wanderer, is home for thee; turn there
Thy weary steps; to those that call thee
guest
Thou shalt be treasure; those that drove thee
forth
Shall find in thee a demon of disaster.
When these things are accomplished, thou
shalt know
By signs—earth's tremor, or the thunder's
call,
Or lightning flash; thou hast Apollo's word.

This part of Apollo's prophecy is new to us, and utterly surprising; yet it was spoken *τὰ πολλὰ ἐκεῖν' ἐν' ἐξέχρησιν κακῶν*. It was the one word of comfort in the whole of that dire pronouncement; but his understanding of it did not come till after the truth of the first part had been revealed. The moment, then, at which Oedipus' inner reflection joined with his remembrance of the rest of Apollo's oracle to show him that his deeds, though physically and ceremonially defiling, were not morally so, is the moment of the second enlightenment; the fusion of memory with agonised thought produced a flash in which he saw that he was not all-accursed, but distinguished by the gods, selected by them to be the vessel of an important purpose, and therefore honoured by their support. Not that

there is any message of divine forgiveness and blessing; that the gods consent to use him is enough; it follows that now, when the worst is over, they are pledged to become in some measure his partners. Apollo himself can now be counted as an ally.

This second enlightenment is the true Peripeteia. From this time onward the outlook of Oedipus is altered; he recovers his old dignity, and keeps it unshaken to the end. It is of this change, which has happened before the opening of the *Oedipus Coloneus*, that the play presents the results, in exactly the same way that the *Oedipus Tyrannus* presents results in its last three hundred and fifty lines.

Before I go on to consider this *Rosmersholm* quality of the play, there is one thing more to be said about the Peripeteia. There is, in the *Oedipus Coloneus*, a faint repetition of it. After Oedipus' first encounter with the Chorus, his daughter Ismene arrives, bringing news from Thebes; among other things, that envoys have brought back to Thebes from Delphi an oracle of Apollo which says that Oedipus shall yet be desired, dead or alive, by the men of Thebes, for the sake of their own well-being; and that his grave, if they do not possess it, shall bring affliction upon them. Now Oedipus knew this, or something very like it, already. Yet his first words to Ismene on hearing the new oracles are:

Who shall draw profit from this broken being?

Here we have a reflection of what happened at Oedipus' earlier enlightenment. We are allowed to see stirring in him faintly now the emotion that moved him violently then—wonder at the choice of the gods, a flash of insight into their ways with man; they had to break him first, before he could become an instrument worthy of their use.

I will digress a moment to point out that this scene with Ismene has, by a wonderful dramatic economy, another function bearing directly on the progress of the play; it is needed to show that the oracle is known also to Oedipus' opponents; this knowledge is the motive force which brings about the collision between him and them;

they realise his value to themselves, and come from Thebes to obtain possession of him. Again, Ismene's announcement not only leads the audience to expect their arrival, but also provides Oedipus with yet another weapon against them—his foreknowledge of the selfish motives behind the persuasions of Creon and Polyneices. In this one scene we learn how past and present are combining to fortify Oedipus at every point, by nourishing his conviction of righteousness.

Now let us examine the inner progress of the play. It shows Oedipus confronted three times with people who still condemn him as a sinner; and each time, relying on the latter part of the oracle, and on his own conviction won by thought, he fights and wins.

First he faces the merely orthodox, the inhabitants of Colonus, whose lives are spent in the performance of ritual, and before whose eyes ceremonial defilement looms so large that it blots out all view of moral values arrived at by weighing motives.

Then he faces Creon, come from Thebes to get possession of his body, because it has now become a source of gain. Creon appeals to him in the name of the family honour, and of his daughter Antigone's comfort; but these appeals are too well-worn to hide from Oedipus the new fabric of selfishness that underlies them, and again, fighting in his defence, he wins. But it is not a mere repetition of his victory over the Chorus. To them he could only hint in broken words at the case for his own purity; to Creon he sets it forth point by point as if in a court of law. Consider his speech of pleading to the Chorus. 'Will you drive me forth,' he cries, 'in dread of nothing but my name?'

Aye, 'tis my name ye fear; what else? For
 who
 Could fear my body? Can ye fear my past?
 It is a story not of actions done
 But actions suffered—I must force my lips
 To speak of father and of mother, all
 The tale wherefore ye shrink from me—I see it.
 Ah, where was any evil in my soul?
 They had done ill to me; I worked them woe.
 Had all my will been in the deeds I wrought,
 E'en thus I should not be the evil thing
 Ye hold me; and 'twas blindly, knowing naught,

I came to—ye know whither; they who hurt me,
 They willed my death, they knew the thing they
 did.

O strangers, think on this; here is my right
 To use the name of God in prayer to you;
 You that have drawn me from the sanctuary,
 Protect me; and beware lest in your zeal
 To serve the gods, ye rob them of their will.

These are the calmest of the words he speaks to the Chorus; yet it is a broken and hesitating plea, a beating against hard bars of prejudice, while of his story he can scarcely bear to speak. Even this measure of calmness is swept away a little later, when they press upon him, in the thoughtless cruelty of curiosity, with questions about those deeds which he cannot bear to recount, and every reference to which is a prodding of raw wounds (vv. 510-549). Compare with this his speech in defence before Creon:

Man with the shameless soul, whom thinkest
 thou

Thy words dishonour? Me in my old age,
 Or thee in thine? Forth from thy lips have
 poured

A stream of words, murders and incests, woes
 I had to *bear*, no work of my design.
 God's purpose was it, angered from of old,
 It may be, with our race; for if on me
 You turn your gaze, you shall not, though you
 search

Find any spot of sin whose punishment
 It was that I should work these heavy ills
 On me and mine. Come now, expound; a
 word

From Heaven came, in answer to my sire,
 'Death from thy seed shall come to thee.
 Where then

Is justice in the charge thou bring'st against
 me,

Who on that day existed not, was not
 By any sire begotten, not conceived
 By any mother's womb?

The whole of this speech has a strongly forensic tone; his speech to the Chorus was his first effort at expressing the case for his purity; and this effort has taught him its strength; now, before Creon, he no longer feels while only half understanding; he knows, strongly and clearly, that he is pure. And his defence is no longer the half-articulate cry of the feelings warding off an almost irresistible attack as best they may; it is the confident reasoned speech of the man whose mind has caught up with his feelings and ranged itself on their side.

His third and last effort is mightier still; mind and feelings rush united into vehement attack. When Polyneices arrives to implore his father's help in the coming struggle, Oedipus is merciless to this second selfish plea; into his son's face he hurls, not only the proofs of his own righteousness, but also a denunciation of his opponent's wickedness. Since he was not defiled, Creon, Eteocles, Polyneices, all sinned in that they thrust him forth into exile; it is Polyneices, not he, who has the murderer's soul (v. 1361).

After this last victory comes the call of the god, the scene of preparation and farewell—which by its length and solemnity underlines the triumph—and the death of Oedipus, which is glorified and made fruitful by the power it gives him to bestow his grave upon Theseus, that it may be a blessing to the man who has seen through external defilement to the unsmirched soul.

The *Oedipus Coloneus*, then, has development, but not the development of drama. It contains no Peripeteia. It depends upon a Peripeteia to be 'understood' outside itself. That is to say, it is not a complete drama, but the descending curve of a larger structure not given to us entire, whose highest point is the conversion of Oedipus to the belief in his own purity. Moreover, this 'understood' Peripeteia is in itself peculiar, and has a peculiar influence on the play. It is a psychological event—the fusion of reflection and memory into a new understanding. The effect of this is to lift up the *Oedipus Coloneus* from the plane of interwoven action and psychology whereon most dramas run, to the plane of almost pure psychology. The progress in the three scenes of Oedipus' self-justification is not a progress in action, but the triumphal march of his point of view. The conflict throughout is between two spiritual forces—two opinions about Virtue; one that it is lost by committing a forbidden act, the other that it is not so lost when the act is done unknowingly.

But, it may be objected, the *Oedipus Coloneus* contains more than the progress of a point of view. Is there not a conflict of action also—the struggle

for the possession of Oedipus and the boon that he can grant? And is not the climax of the action, the turning-point of the drama, to be found in the scene where Creon abducts Ismene and Antigone, and is prevented only by Theseus from carrying off Oedipus himself?

There is no doubt that this scene of action is meant to supply that appeal to expectancy which a dramatist must offer to his audience; but it fails to give a Peripeteia to the play because Sophocles does not regard the struggle between Oedipus and Thebes as his real theme, and therefore has not made it the conflict in the structural sense. That his play is not concerned with the question, 'Will one of the two warring parties of Thebes gain over Oedipus, and with him success? Or will Oedipus remain free to give his body to Theseus and to Athens?'—that his play is not concerned with the issue of this struggle, Sophocles has made clear by placing that issue beyond doubt almost at the outset; the friendship of Theseus, set on the side of Oedipus from the first, makes him safe from molestation. The people of Colonus, however shocked they may be at the presence of the notorious parricide in or near their sacred grove, leave action to Theseus; and once Theseus has arrived, we no longer have any fears for Oedipus' safety. So completely do the reassurances of Theseus convince us that nothing can harm him, and no one drag him away in the face of Theseus' protecting power, that we pity Creon for his vain attempt. When his soldiers have carried off Antigone and Ismene, we know that Theseus is near by and can save them. When he remains behind to seize Oedipus, we feel that it is he, not Oedipus, who stands in danger. When Theseus' guards go to recover the maidens, the Chorus know, and we know, that they will be recovered; while the men are absent pursuing the abductors, the Chorus sing, not the ode of doubt and suspense usual when a battle is being fought, but a serene song in which they regard the coming encounter not as a battle, but as a scene of triumph for Theseus. *ἀλώσεται*, they say, 'Creon

will be caught,' and *μάντις εἴμ' ἐσθλῶν ἀγώνων*, 'my prophetic soul speaks of victorious effort.'

When Theseus and his attendants return victorious, we are not surprised or even relieved. We do not feel even that they have returned from a dangerous fight. Nor do they try to impress upon us the difficulty of the task accomplished. There is no Rhesis describing the fight. Antigone hands over to Theseus this narrative; and Theseus dismisses the subject for something new—Antigone ostensibly through maidenly modesty, Theseus through manly modesty; both in reality because this victory is not of the highest importance—that is to say, the struggle of which it should be the decision is not the true 'conflict' of the play. The partisanship of Theseus takes away the danger which could make this struggle real.

Again, a real 'conflict' inside the play would have taken place, and a real Peripeteia been reached, if there had

been any struggle in the mind of Oedipus between the claims of Athens and Thebes; but there is none, for he has already learned from Ismene both the selfish motives of the two parties from Thebes, and the plans of these his enemies; he counts them as enemies from the first, therefore, and knows not only in general, but also in detail, what he means to do. Again, had there been any difficulty in gaining over Theseus, this would have given a conflict and a Peripeteia. But there is none. Theseus in his first speech offers of his own free will all that Oedipus could have asked; he constantly repeats his promise of protection, and his assurances that his protection is a guarantee of safety. He sets Oedipus above danger, that he may meet his enemies on the plane of the mind and spirit, and win over them the victory made possible, indeed certain, by the true Peripeteia—his long-past change of outlook.

KATHLEEN FREEMAN.

'TAGES ETRUSCUS.'

(1) CICERO *DE DIVINATIONE* II. 80.

'... QUOMODO autem haec' (sc. auguria) 'aut quando aut a quibus inventa dicemus? Etrusci tamen habent *exaratum puerum* auctorem disciplinae suae; nos quem? Attumne Navium?' *e.q.s.* So—without a hint of any MS. variant or variants for the words italicised—Orelli (1828) and C. F. W. Mueller (1898 and 1915), the only editions I have been able to consult. Mr. Pease has not reached the Second Book yet. Christ in the Baiter-Helm recension (Professor Clark tells me) prints as above without comment. But the 'tamen' is meaningless and a proper name is required—viz., the Etruscan analogue to the Roman Attus Navius. Read 'Etrusci Tagen¹ habent auctorem disciplinae suae; nos quem?' etc.

The story of Tages is told at length by Cicero earlier in the book, §§ 50-51, where he says 'Estne quisquam ita

desipiens, qui credat *exaratum* esse deum dicam an hominem?' Hence, I take it, a marginal gloss '*exaratum puerum*' here, which crept into the text, after the corruption of 'Tagen' into 'tamen.' The form 'Tagen' in preference to the 'Tagem' of several MSS. at Ovid *Met.* 15. 558 is, as Professor Housman points out, strongly supported by Statius *Theb.* 9. 270,

'Hypseos hasta Tagen ingenti vulnere mersit.'

(2) 'Glaeba in puerum eundem, nomine Tagen' is the *titulus* of Fab. 47 in the prose abstract (by 'Lactantius') of the passage in Ovid just referred to, *Met.* 15. 552 ff., as printed *e.g.* in the editio Parmensis (1477) and in Dr. Magnus (p. 714^a) from late MSS. But if 'puerum eundem' means anything,² it must mean 'puerum glaeblem,' *Anglicè* a 'clod-hopper!' This won't do. I suggest that we should read 'in puerum f<ac>undum,' *i.e.* 'a boy with

¹ For confusion of *g* and *m* see Plaut. *Aul.* 165, 'degam testatur Nonius 278: demam cod. (Lindsay *ad loc.*).

² I can find no parallel in 'Lactantius.' Ovid *Met.* 4. 594 and 5. 205 are not dissimilar.

a tongue in his head.' 'Tages quidam dicitur in agro Tarquiniensi . . . extitisse repente *et eum adfatus esse* qui arabat,' Cicero *loc. cit.* The confusion of *e* and *f* is fairly common in the MSS.

of Ovid. 'Facundum' was corrupted into 'eacundum,' a *vox nihili*, from which, regardless of sense, the corrector elicited 'eundem.'

D. A. SLATER.

AGAMEMNON 444 AND A GALATIAN INSCRIPTION.

- οὐδ' μὲν γὰρ <τις> ἔπεμψεν
οἶδεν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν
435 τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἑκά-
στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.
ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἀρης σωμαίων
καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς
440 πυρῶθεν ἐξ Ἰλίου
φλοισι πέμπει βαρὺ
ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-
τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-
ζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.
444 εὐθέτους Auratus, εὐθέτου libri.

FOR a student of our generation it requires an effort to realise that this familiar image, the handy, compact, little urns holding the big men, is due to Auratus. The nineteenth-century editors were divided on this question, tending on the whole to favour the MS. tradition. But, in our own time, England in the persons of Sidgwick and Headlam, Germany with her Wecklein and her Wilamowitz, and France still represented by Weil, are agreed at least on this—that Auratus' εὐθέτους is to be preferred to the unanimous testimony of the manuscripts. For does not Aeschylus elsewhere apply the epithet probably to a shield, certainly to a pair of shoes, manufactured articles like the urns? Apart from Verrall, whose motto was, 'My libri right or wrong,' we have to go back to Paley for an English editor of independent view who accepted the manuscript reading.

In Bekker's gloss (*Anecd.* 40, 23, εὐθετεῖν νεκρόν: τὸ εὖ κοσμεῖν ἐν τάφοις νεκρόν, quoted by Headlam), the verb εὐθετεῖν is clearly an undertaker's euphemism based on the ordinary transitive use of the word in Hellenistic Greek, 'set in order'; its use as applied to a corpse may be compared to the Latin 'componere' or even 'bene componere.' This gloss has no bearing on the meaning of εὐθετος in Aeschylus. In Classical Greek the adjective corresponded to εὖ θέσθαι (ἀσπίδα εὖ θέσθω, *Iliad* 2, 382; εὖ τίθεσθαι ὄπλα, Xen.

Cyr. 4, 5, 3), and meant 'easily stowed' or 'easily handled.' So far the adjective is applicable either to the ashes or to the urns.

A close inspection of Aeschylus' picture of Ares the Sarraf, and the evidence of a Hellenistic inscription from Laodicea Combusta, combine, however, to show that the reading of the MSS. is correct.

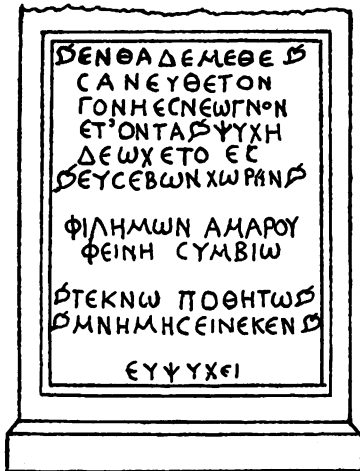
Verrall, Sidgwick, and Headlam have all written excellent notes on this picture, but none of them has read off all that is on the canvas. Ares, the Money-changer, whose coin is 'lives o' men,' holds his scales in the battle and weighs out the heavy dust tried in the fire. True; but with πέμπει Ares becomes a Consigner of freight—freight not of men, but of ashes (ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ), with which he loads (γεμίζων) not ships,¹ but urns (λέβητας). And this mortal freight, if we follow the MSS., is εὐθετος, not, as Headlam renders it, 'decently bestowed,' but, as a coal-exporter might say of a consignment of diamonds, 'easily handled.' We have just seen the cargo arriving at its destination—τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἑκάστου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται—and our Artist goes on: ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἀρης . . . 'For Ares the Sarraf . . .' Incidentally, the answering πέμπει shows that <τις> ἔπεμψεν and not <παρ> ἔπεμψεν in l. 433 is right: it is in Aeschylus' manner thus to repeat a word, to haunt the ear. These men helped to fill a thousand ships (στόλον Ἀργείων χίλιοναύτην) ten years ago; surely, in the language of emotional *Catharsis*, it is *they* and not the urns which hold them, who are so 'easily handled' now. 'Expende *Hannibalem*, quot libras in duce summo inuenies?'

But if this analysis of Aeschylus' design still leaves the urns with the

¹ 'γεμίζω . . . properly of ships,' L. and S.

answer that they, too, are easily handled, they are silenced, I think, by the following inscription, carved six or seven centuries after Aeschylus wrote.

Laodicea Combusta (Calder, 1908; revised, Ramsay and C., 1911). Taste-fully disposed in a panel cut on a *bomos*, broken at the top, with *hederae distinguentes* decorating rather than punctuating the text; the elision at the end of *ἐν* marked. Published, without epigraphic copy, as No. 2 in a series of 'Inscriptions grecques métriques inédites d'Asie Mineure' in *Rev. de Phil.* 1922, pp. 114 ff.



'Βενθάδε μ' ἔθεσαν εὐθετον γονῆς νεωγνὸν ἐτ' ὄντα,
ψυχὴ δὲ ὤχετο ἐς εὐσεβῶν χώρην.

Φιλήμων ἄμα 'Ρου-
φείνῃ συμβίῳ
τέκνῳ ποθητῷ
μνήμης εἵνεκεν.
εὐψύχει.

No one who is familiar with imperial sepulchral epigraphy will fail to recognise in this epitaph, in spite of its halting metre, the composition of the educated provincial. The second line, which probably aims at being a Choli-ambus,¹ plays on a theme which can be paralleled from many late epitaphs, but with a suggestive difference. The form regularly employed in this phrase is *χώρος*,² not *χώρα*; and the use of the

Ionic form *χώρην* here points to the direct influence of the poem of Car-phyllides in *Anth. Pal.* VII. 260,³ or of its model. In view of the rarity of this

μετέβης ἐς ἀμείνονα χώρον, No. 649; ὃν θέμις ἔστιν αἰὲ χώρον, *Rev. de Phil.*, 1922, p. 125; αἰλυθὸν ἰς Αἶδα τὸν ἀφενγέα χώρον, Ramsay, *Stud. in E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 143. With εὐσεβῶν we also find on inscriptions (see Kaibel, *loc. cit.*) θάλαμος, θάλαμοι, δόμος, κλισίη, τέρμονοι (in a restoration: cf. Kaibel, No. 338), and with μακάρων (Kaibel, index, s.v.), νῆσος, νῆσοι, πεδίον, πέδον, δάπεδον, as well as χώρος (once in a Christian inscription of Rome; see below). I know no other epigraphical instance of *χώρα* in such expressions. In *Rev. de Phil.* I expressed a suspicion, founded on its tone and on the name Philemon, that the Laodicean inscription is a Christian epitaph of the disguised pre-Constantinian type. I find a further hint of Christian feeling in the substitution of the Car-phyllidean *χώρην* for the normal pagan *χώρος*. The earliest Christian inscriptions of Asia Minor (and the present inscription is hardly later than the early third century) are characterised by a tendency to avoid expressions which had associations with pagan religion: see Ramsay, *C. B. Phr.*, pp. 488 ff. The fact that the form *χώρος* is not used in the N.T. is probably without significance in this connexion; on the other hand, its use by a writer like Gregory Nazianzen in a context which recalls its pagan use (*Poems* II. 48,

ἴμοι ἐγὼν, ὅτι δὴ με πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἦδὲ Θεοῦ
χώρον ἐπειγόμενον, σῶμα τὸδ' ἀμφὶς ἔχει)

is no evidence for its toleration by earlier Christians in eastern Phrygia. In the Christian poetry of Gregory and his like Christianity masquerades, with somewhat grotesque effect, in the guise of a rhapsode or of a tragic actor; Deissmann has remarked somewhere that Nonnus' rendering of the Fourth Gospel into hexameters is a 'spiritual outrage.' The later Christian epitaphs of Asia Minor partake of the same character—e.g. Bishop Macedonius of Apollonis in Lydia describes himself (*circa* A.D. 375) as ταύτη μακάρων ἀτραποῦς ἑλθὼν (Grégoire, *Recueil*, No. 333 bis). With this contrast ἡρθέ τε δῶμα θεοῦ and ψυχὴν δὲ θεὸς σῶσεν οὐρανίοις ἐν [ζ]ώσιν (or should it be [δ]ώσιν, from Epic δῶ?) in two Phrygian epitaphs, the first certainly, the second probably, Christian, and both dating about A.D. 300 (Ramsay, *Stud. in E. Rom. Prov.*, pp. 126, 124). Such expressions exhibit slight but subtle differences from the pagan formulae: they were meant to be φωνᾶντα συνεροῖσι without being overtly Christian. The form *χώρα* is used by Basil, *In Mort. Iulii*, ch. 2: τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐράνιον χώραν. The expression μακάρων ἐνὶ χώρῳ occurs in a Christian inscription of Rome (Kaibel, No. 733): the above remarks of course apply only to Asia Minor. Salutations (εὐψύχει) are found on Christian as well as on pagan epitaphs (Ramsay, *C. B. Phr.*, p. 523).

³ Ll. 7, 8:

ὁ μὲ καταστεισάμενος ἀπήμονα, τὸν γλυκὸν θῆνον
κοιμᾶσθαι χώρην πέμψαν ἐπ' εὐσεβέων.

¹ A rare metre in inscriptions. Hexameters and iambic senarii are frequently used to form distichs in Anatolian inscriptions, as also by Gregory of Nazianzus.

² See Kaibel, *Epigr. Graec.*, index, s.v. εὐσεβῆς (five instances). Add εὐσεβῆς ἐνὶ χώρῳ, *ibid.* No. 700; εἰς χώρον ἐς ἡλύσιον, No. 618a;

use of *eûtheros*, as applied to mortal remains (I can find no third example),¹ one is inclined to suspect that its appearance on the tombstone of this unnamed child is a reminiscence of the *Agamemnon*. However that may be, the word is here applied to the little corpse, as it is to the ashes in all the MSS. of the *Agamemnon*.

The meaning of the word in this epitaph is not so clear. Its common Hellenistic senses, 'convenient' and 'suitable,' are developed naturally out

¹ *eûtheros* is used in a sepulchral context in an inscription of Cyme, *C.I.G.* 3524: *ἐντάφην ἐν ᾧ κεν ἂν εὐθετον ἔμμεναι φαίνεται τόπῳ*. This reference, which I owe to Mr. E. Harrison, is interesting as showing the use of the word in its ordinary Hellenistic sense in Asia Minor about A.D. 1.

of the Aeschylean sense. It is perhaps possible that, under the influence of *eûθετεῖν*, *eûtheros* had developed the sense of 'bene compositus'; but in that case we should expect to find other examples in the rich sepulchral epigraphy of the Roman period. Until such examples are found, it is better to ascribe its occurrence here to literary influence.

Verrall, who appeals to palaeographical probability in favour of *eûθέτου*, and Sidgwick, who claims that the 'order of the words' supports *eûθέτους*, may be allowed to cancel each other. Headlam, whose text reads *eûθέτους*, tries, in his note and in his translation, to have it both ways. And, as I have shown, he misapplies *eûθετεῖν*.

Such is the case for *eûθέτου*.

W. M. CALDER.

CATULLUS LXVI. 92-94.

Sed potius largis effice muneribus
Sidera cur iterent: Vtinam coma regia fiam!
Proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion!

QUEEN BERENICE vowed that on a certain contingency she would dedicate a tress of her hair to the gods. The vow was discharged, and a celestial messenger carried off the tress to the lap of Venus. Venus set it among the stars, where it did not escape the eye of a courtly astronomer.

The tress speaks throughout the poem. (39) 'Full loath was I to quit your Majesty's head. . . .' (69) 'True, I am now a constellation; but I am not so much delighted by my new estate as racked by the thought that I must be absent for ever and ever from my mistress's head.' But at 79 it turns from these vain repinings, and asks that henceforth every chaste bride shall make it an offering before she yields to her husband's desires. (89) 'And thou, O Queen, when thou dost propitiate Venus with holiday lights, suffer me not to go without a share in the blood that thou sheddest, but rather, by thy lavish bounty, give the stars reason to repeat, "Oh that I might become a queen's tress, and let Orion flash next to Aquarius!"'

In the last three lines, apart from some trifles of spelling, the MSS. are at one, and what they give us is good

and true. The tress has said enough about its regrets, and the poem should end, as it ends in the MSS., with the cheerful anticipation of favours and glory to come.

'Give the stars reason to repeat. . . .' The other stars, of course; and *sidera* is used just so in 73: 'Nothing shall prevent me from speaking my mind, even though the stars cut me up with nasty remarks.'

The construction *effice cur iterent* is amply warranted by *efficio ut, ne, quominus*; by *est cur, nihil est cur*; and by Ovid, *Am.* I. iii. 2:

Aut amet, aut faciat cur ego semper amem.

The juxtaposition of a clause of wish, and another main clause in which a subjunctive denotes the price or consequence of the fulfilment of the wish, is above suspicion. *Fiam coma regia, ruat caelum*.

Nor is there anything wrong with *iterent*, whether it means 'say again and again,' or 'say one after the other'; and in either case the singular *fiam* is right. Each star will think only of itself. If anyone doubts, let him consider Sen. *Suas.* II. 12-13. Describing the emotions of the Spartans at Thermopylae, Seneca quotes from some hexameters on a similar situation:

stratique per herbam
'Hic meus est' dixere 'dies'—

and he proceeds: 'The scholar Porcellus taxed these lines with solecism, since, though the speakers are many, they say "This is *my* day," not "*our* day." In a fine phrase he found fault with the finest point. . . . They did not all speak at once, like a choir with a scholar for conductor, but one and then another of them said "This is *my* day."'

Now what do the editors of Catullus make of these three lines?

For *effice* they print *affice*: 'but rather bestow on me bountiful gifts.' This needs a full-stop at the end of 92; the last couplet must all be the tress's own words. Next, *sidera cur retinent*? 'Why do the stars detain me?' An idle question, for the stars, it seems, will be only too glad to be rid of the parvenu. Or else *sidera corruerint*, to which some critics attach the *utinam*: 'let (may) the stars rush together.' But this is the thought of the last line of all, and (*utinam*) *coma regia fiam* is awkwardly sandwiched between. Further, *coma regia fiam* must now mean 'may I become *once more* a queen's tress'; and the lack of an adverb calls

either for apology or for Markland's *iterum* in place of *utinam*. As for the parataxis of the two subjunctival clauses, it is neither worse nor better if the wish is uttered, not by the tress, but by the other stars.

When the MSS. of Catullus agree in large errors—when O is at one with G and R—they offer nonsense and barbarism. Here they offer sense and Latin; and the current conjectures, without improving the Latin, impair the sense; they bring the poem by violence to a bad end.

Yet these conjectures, or others no better, have found favour with almost all the editors whose texts are in current use—Baehrens-Schulze, Ellis, Friedrich, Merrill, Müller, Palmer, Postgate, Schulze, and, I gather, Nigra; and they are countenanced by Munro. Ellis, in his latest comment, saw and approved the better, but in his last text he followed the worse. There is comfort in the taste of Messrs. Ramsay and Macnaghten; but as they do not argue, and as Mr. Owen goes right for no good reason, I have thought it worth while to expatiate.

E. HARRISON.

EURIPIDES AND THARYPS.

THE date of Euripides' *Andromache* is not recorded. The scholiast on l. 445 suggests the opening years of the Peloponnesian War; modern critics¹ have mostly placed it in the years before or after the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). The same scholiast explains the uncertainty thus: *εἰλικρινῶς δὲ τοὺς τοῦ δράματος χρόνους οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δέδιδεκται* (MSS. *δέδεικται*, corr. Cobet) 'Ἀθήνησιν· ὁ δὲ Καλλιμάχος ἐπιγραφῆναί φησι τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ Δημοκράτην.

Nauck² suggested that the play was produced at Argos in 420 B.C. as anti-Spartan propaganda, and Gilbert Murray³ regards this as likely. There is, however, nothing to connect the play with Argos, except Bergk's conjecture *Τιμοκράτην* for the scholiast's *Δημοκράτην*, this conjectural Timocrates being

identified with the Timocrates of Argos to whom some⁴ ascribed Euripides' lyrics. Moreover, the villainous character of Orestes in the *Andromache* would scarcely have pleased an Argive audience.⁵

I wish to suggest a different view,⁶

⁴ *Vit. Eur.* 1.

⁵ Cf. Eur. *Orest.* 1660, 'Ἀργεὺς δ' Ὀρέστην, Μενέλεως, ἔα κρατεῖν. Apollo's words to Orestes (*ib.* 1653 ff.) seem designed to counteract the effect of the *Andromache*—Hermione shall never marry Neoptolemus, for he shall first be killed at Delphi, as he deserves; and Orestes shall marry her and live happily ever after. See Mahaffy, *Hist. of Greek Literature*,² I., p. 338, n. 1.

⁶ This paper was written before I discovered that the main lines of my theory had been anticipated. W. Schmid, in Christ's *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*,⁵ Part I., 1908, p. 343, suggested that, in view of the prominence given to the Molossian royal house, the piece was possibly produced in Epirus at a festival at that 'half-barbarian court.' Schmid, however, followed the scholiast in assigning the play to the opening years of the Peloponnesian War. C. Klotzsch,

¹ Cf. Wecklein, Eurip. *Andromache*, 1911, p. 10.

² Ed. Eurip. I., p. xviii.

³ *Euripides and his Age*, p. 112.

which better fits the contents of the play. Among the barbarians who attacked Acarnania, with the Ambraciots and with Cnemus and his Peloponnesians, in 429 B.C., Thucydides¹ mentions the Molossians and Atintanes under one Sabylinthus, ἐπίτροπος ὧν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτι παιδὸς ὄντος. Athens supported Acarnania, and Cnemus and the rest were routed at Stratus. This defeat impressed the Molossians, and they sent their boy-king Tharyps to Athens for his education. Justin² writes: 'Per ordinem deinde regnum ad Tharybam descendit, qui quoniam pupillus et unicus ex gente nobili superesset, intentione omnium cura seruandi eius educandique publice tutores constituuntur. Athenas quoque educandi gratia missus. quanto doctior maioribus suis, tanto et populo gravior fuit. primus itaque leges et senatum annuosque magistratus et reipublicae formam composuit, et ut a Pyrrho sedes, sic uita cultior populo a Tharyba statuta.' Plutarch³ says that, the Aeacid dynasty of Epirus having become degenerate and barbarous, Θαρρύπαν πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ νόμοις φιλανθρώποις διακοσμήσαντα τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστὸν γενέσθαι. Pausanias⁴, also speaks of him (as Tharypus or Tharypas), and the literary evidence is confirmed by an inscription⁵ in honour of his grandson Arybbas, son of Alcetas (Pausanias gives the pedigree). Arybbas took refuge at Athens when expelled by Philip of Macedon about 342 B.C. The inscription mentions the grant of Athenian citizenship to his father and grandfather.

in his *Epirotische Geschichte*, 1911, p. 221, quoted Schmid's suggestion, but pointed out that the political conditions of Epirus in the early years of the war made such a date improbable. He suggested that Tharyps was at Athens when the play was produced, and that the play was in part pro-Athenian propaganda. Neither Schmid nor Klotzsch has examined the question in detail, and their views have attracted little attention. It seemed, therefore, worth while to print this paper, which is wholly independent of Schmid and Klotzsch.

¹ II. 80.

² XVII. 3.

³ *Pyrrh.* I.

⁴ I. II. 1.

⁵ *I.G.* II. 115 (= Dittenb.³ 228; Roberts and Gardner, 40). *I.G.* II. 17 (= Dittenb.³ 228; Roberts and Gardner, 32), dated 378/7 B.C., mentions Alcetas and his son Neoptolemus among the allies of Athens.

I wish to suggest that the *Andromache* was Euripides' parting gift to Tharyps, and that it was not performed at Athens, because it was performed in Molossia.

The central interest of the play is the fate of Molossus,⁶ son of Neoptolemus and Andromache. Hermione, Neoptolemus' wife, and her father Menelaus, both treated as typical Spartans, plot to murder Molossus and his mother, and these crimes are barely prevented by the timely arrival of old Peleus. At the end of the play (after Orestes has murdered Neoptolemus and eloped with Hermione), Thetis, the *dea ex machina*, prophesies to Peleus that the boy will be the ancestor of the kings of Molossia and will save the blood of Aeacus from extinction. The language recalls Justin's about Tharyps: 'qui quoniam pupillus et unicus ex gente nobili superesset.'

γυναῖκα δ' αἰχμάλωτον, Ἀνδρομάχην λέγω,
Μολοσσίαν γῆν χρὴ κατοικῆσαι, γέρον,
Ἑλένη συναλλαχθεῖσαν εὐναίους γάμοις,
καὶ παῖδα τόνδε, τῶν ἀπ' Ἀλκαοῦ μόνον
λελειμμένον δῆ. βασιλεῖα δ' ἐκ τοῦδε χρὴ
ἄλλον δι' ἄλλον διαπερᾶν Μολοσσίας
εὐδαιμονοῦντας· οὐ γὰρ ὧδ' ἀνάστατον
γένος γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ σὸν κάμνον, γέρον,
Τροίας τε· καὶ γὰρ θεοῖσι κἀκείνης μέλει
καίπερ πεσοῦσης Παλλάδος προθυμῆ.⁷

It would be hard to imagine more effective propaganda. The fate of their king's great ancestor—their link with Achilles and Hector—would be of thrilling interest to a Molossian audience. Sparta provides two of the three villains, and every Spartan custom, from double kingship⁸ to female athletics,⁹ is held up to detestation in language whose bitterness recalls Dante's invectives against Pisa or Genoa.

The third villain is Orestes. This, too, may have a local point. The Orestae, like the Molossians, were among the tribes which attacked Acarnania in 429 B.C. Thucydides¹⁰ mentions that their king was one Antiochus, who did not take the field, but entrusted his troops on this occasion to Oroedus, king of the Paravaei. The Orestae,

⁶ The child is called Μολοσσός in the *Dram. Pers.*, but is not named in the play.

⁷ *Androm.* 1243 ff. Μολοσσίας in the sixth line is Lenting's correction of the MSS. Μολοσσίαν.

⁸ *Ib.* 471.

⁹ *Ib.* 595.

¹⁰ II. 80.

according to Hecataeus,¹ were a Molossian tribe, and Tharyps and his Molossians may well have regarded them as revolted subjects. It is likely enough that Antiochus may even have plotted against the boy-king's life, on which depended the survival of the legitimate dynasty. And the Orestae claimed descent from Orestes and Hermione.²

Kaerst³ has suggested that the connexion of the Molossian kings with Achilles is a fiction started in the reign of Tharyps. Klotzsch⁴ accepts the suggestion, but, well as it would fit this view of the *Andromache*, it seems to me irreconcilable with Pindar's words⁵ about Neoptolemus, probably written in 485 B.C.:

Μολοσσία δ' ἐμβασιλευεν ὀλίγον
χρόνον· ἄνδρ' γένος αἰεὶ φέρει
τοῦτό οἱ γέρας.

The fierce attack on Delphi⁶ may also be regarded as anti-Spartan propaganda. It would, moreover, delight the priests of Dodona, whose ancient oracle (mentioned twice⁷ only by Euripides, once in the *Andromache*) suffered from Delphian competition. Dodona was a Molossian city.⁸ It was venerated and protected by the Molossian kings. Indeed, Strabo⁹ (following Theopompus) ascribes the Molossian ascendancy to two causes—the Aeacid descent of their kings, and their possession of the ancient and renowned oracle of Dodona. George Long¹⁰ remarks: 'The Athe-

nians also seem not unfrequently to have consulted the oracle of Dodona, which they did probably through their suspicion of the Pythia at Delphi in the Peloponnesian War.' Long cites the oracle, mentioned by Pausanias,¹¹ which encouraged Athens to undertake the Sicilian Expedition.

Our knowledge of Tharyps' age is so vague that a large range of dates is possible. But the hostile treatment of Orestes points to the short period of Argive alliance with Sparta¹² after Mantinea, between the later part of 418 B.C. and the later part of the following year, when the Argive democrats recovered control and renewed their alliance with Athens.

I have no wish to imply that the *Andromache* is mere propaganda. It is full of subtleties, as Verrall pointed out. It is, indeed, unlikely that Euripides wrote the play for Tharyps; more probably he adapted an unpublished or unfinished work by introducing and emphasising topical points.

There remains the ascription of the play to 'Democrates,' recorded on the authority of Callimachus.¹³ It is easy to suppose that Euripides was not very proud of the *Andromache*, and preferred to disguise his authorship. The name Democrates (common at Athens) may be that of the manager who produced the play for Tharyps. But it is tempting to guess that Euripides chose it as a half-ironical pseudonym, with something of the effect of 'Patriot' or 'Anti-Prussian.'

D. S. ROBERTSON.

¹ *Ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ορέσται* (F.H.G. Hecat. fr. 77).

² Theagenes *ap. Steph. Byz. ib.* (F.H.G. Theag. fr. 10).

³ Pauly-Wissowa V., col. 2725.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 33.

⁵ *Nem.* VII. 38 ff., D has φέρει, B φέρεν.

⁶ *Androm.* 1161 ff. and 1241.

⁷ *Androm.* 885; *Phoen.* 982.

⁸ Hecataeus, *ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δωδώνη* (F.H.G. Hecat. fr. 78).

⁹ VII. p. 498B, c.

¹⁰ *S.v. Dodona* in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geogr.*

¹¹ VIII. 11. 12.

¹² *Thuc.* V. 78-82.

¹³ *Schol. Eur. Androm.*, l. 445. One more point may perhaps be made connecting the play with Epirus. The epithet ἡπειρώτης, otherwise unknown in tragedy, is twice (ll. 159 and 652) applied to Andromache. It refers to Asia, but may have been meant to suggest Epirus.

ALLOBROGA.

THE nominative singular of *Allobroges* is *Allobrox* in Horace and seems to occur nowhere else in classical literature, though the same form is found in *G.L.K. suppl.* p. 119, in Herodian *ap. Steph. Byz.*, and as a cognomen in *C.I.L.* XII 3109. Probus *G.L.K.* IV p. 124 enquires, apparent ignorance, whether it should be

Allobrogus or *Allobroges*, and decides for the latter because the former would be anomalous. He says nothing about another anomalous nominative, *Allobroga*, of which the *thes. ling. Lat.* I p. 1690 16 professes to cite two examples: '*Allobroga* gloss. V 590 24, 652 11.'

The second of these glosses is no example of the nominative. It runs '*Adlobroga* Graece declinauit quod Gallus erat Rufus', and is a

note on Iuu. VII 213 sq., 'sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque iuuentus, | Rufum, quem totiens Ciceronem *Allobroga* dixit,' written by some one who rightly understood that *Allobroga* was accusative and who sought to explain why Juvenal had used that form instead of the Latin *Allobrogem*. A nominative *Allobroga* would not be Greek. The other example, *corp. gloss. Lat. V* p. 590 24, '*Allobroga* Gallus Rufus', is drawn from the same passage; and the nominative has no existence except in the writer's inability to construe Juvenal's words.

The plural corresponding to this fictitious nominative is cited by the *thesaurus* ib. l. 23 from the ancient scholium on Iuu. VIII 234, which I transcribe entire: '*ut braccatorum p. : Gallos significat, et deest "teneant."* *Allobrogae* Galli sunt. ideo autem dicti *Allobrogae*, quoniam "brogae" Galli agrum dicunt, "alla" autem aliud. dicti autem *Allobrogae*, quia ex alio loco fuerant translati.' Now Juvenal's lines are these, 'arma tamen uos | nocturna et flammis domibus templisque paratis, | ut braccatorum pueri Senonumque minores': not a word about *Allobrogae* or *Allobroges*, whom indeed it would have been absurd to mention. The *Allobroges* are not heard of in history till the time of Hannibal; they certainly took no part, as the Senones did, in the sack of Rome; and their ambassadors actually helped to save Rome from Catiline and Cethegus, the persons here addressed. The fact therefore that in Juvenal's best MS the letters after *Sen-* are written over an erasure is no sign that anything like *Senonum Allobrogumque* once stood in the text; and moreover the last letters of the original reading, still visible, are *-nores*. Besides, this scholium cannot be a note even on *Allobrogum*: if it were, it would not contain the form *Allobrogae*; for the writer was evidently accustomed to call them *Allobroges*, and relapses into that form at the end of his comment. This is a note on some passage which presented, or seemed to present, a form of the first declension and not of the third: in other words it is a note on VII 214. That is the only place in Juvenal, except perhaps VIII 13, where a note about the *Allobroges* would not be impertinent; and there stands *Allobroga* to account for *Allobrogae*. The only scholium now extant at that spot is the curt and unintelligible '*Allobroga dixit m. Gallia*'; and here at VIII 234 we have what ought to be there. Neither nominative, the singular *Allobroga* nor the plural *Allobrogae*, has any other origin than misinterpretation of Iuu. VII 214.

The so-called *glossae Iuuenalianae* printed in the *corp. gloss. Lat. V* pp. 652-6 from cod. Paris. 7730 include some fifty or sixty which have nothing to do with Juvenal: for instance, 656 21 *Ergenna sacerdos* is from Persius and 652 7 *acer lignum coloribus impar* is from Ovid; but many of these are nevertheless now twisted into connexion with him under the most threadbare pretences. If the γλώσσα is not to be found in Juvenal, the γλώσσημα will suffice. 653 9 *monoptalmus luscus* (a regular item in bilingual glossaries, recurring at II 373 14, III 181 12, 252 67, 339 41) is to be a gloss on Iuu.

X 158 *ducem . . . luscum*: even if it were *luscus monoptalmus* (as it is at II 125 25 and III 445 20), it could not be that. So too they refer 655 15 *pantomimus histrio* to Iuu. VII 90 *dabit histrio*, and 655 19 *pastillus crustula* to Iuu. IX 5 *lambenti crustula*: it is therefore mere negligence, not common sense, which prevents them from referring 652 6 *abiuro abnego* to Iuu. XIII 94 *abnego nummos*, and 652 12 *agagulis lenonibus* to Iuu. VI 216 *lenonibus atque lanistis*. The worst of this craze is that it diverts attention from serious business and delays the progress of correction. At 655 12 we have the gloss *taberna ubi uestes ponuntur aut quodlibet aliud*. Friedlaender's index provides four instances of *taberna* in Juvenal, and therefore Mr Goetz *thes. gloss. emend.* II p. 323 refers this to the least inapposite of them, II 42 *ne pudeat dominum monstrare tabernae*, where however *taberna* is not a place in which clothes or anything else is deposited but *unde opobalsama emuntur*. If Mr Goetz would turn to p. 432 of his own volume, he would find these same words, *ubi uestes ponuntur aut quodlibet aliud*, cited from *corp. gloss. V* 104 14 and, with trifling variants, from five other places; and the word which they explain is not *taberna* but *zaberna*. The next gloss, 655 13, is *tomo luscello*. Friedlaender cannot furnish his clients with *tomo*, but any word beginning with the same letters, however different its meaning, will satisfy their simple needs; so we read in the *thes. gloss. emend.* II p. 354 '*tomo uiscello* (corr. W. Heraeus: *luscello* cod.) V 655 13 (cf. Iuuenal. X 355)'; and X 355 is '*candiduli diuina tomacula porci*'! The true correction is *zomo iuscello*, as may be seen from IV 198 3 *zomos* (*zonos* cod.) *ius*, III 470 23 *ius* ζῶμος, 24 *iucellarius* ζωποποιός, 219 2 *diā ζωποῦ iucellatas* (*iucellatas* cod.). A. E. HOUSMAN.

PECULIUM.

DE l'inscription publiée par M. W. M. Calder (*C.R.* 1923, p. 8) et de son commentaire il me paraît bien résulter que *peculium* est un mot celtique. Comme d'autre part le mot est ancien dans la langue latine, il semble évident qu'il appartient au patrimoine commun de ces deux langues, c'est-à-dire à l'italo-celtique. Et ceci est de première importance. On le retrouve dans une inscription de la Gaule Narbonnaise (*C.I.L.* XII., No. 1005), mentionnant un curator *peculi r(ei) p(ublicae) Glanico(rum)*: il s'agit de *Glanum* ou Saint-Remy; et là, *peculium* est sans doute le mot celtique avec son sens indigène. CAMILLE JULIAN.

A PROBLEM IN PROPERTIUS.

- (a) non non humani PARTUS sunt talia dona
(II. iii. 27).
- (b) optima mors PARCA quae uenit acta die
(III. v. 18).
- (c) haecne marita fides et PARCE auia noctes
(IV. iii. 11).

IT is curious that in these three places a reading either suspect or certainly

corrupt in Cod. Neapolitanus begins with PARC or PART.

In (a) *partus*, with *peperere* in the following line, looks more like copyist's Latinity than Propertian. Two words would fit the meaning—*ritus* and *captus*. I was led to think the latter the more likely by the coincidence that in (b) Baehrens' *carpta* is the easiest and most plausible solution; and this *rapprochement* further suggested that in (c) the original might have been

carptae gratia noctis

[cf. ἄδε φίλῳ θρεπτήρι χάρις; Meleager in A.P. XII. 137; and ὄφρ' ἐπίηρα φέρωμαι εἰκότα μαργοσύνησιν Apoll. Rhod. IV. 375; and for *gratia* (Quintil.) *Declam.* ed. Ritter, p. 129].

To these may be added—

(d) *peccaram semel et totum sum PORTUS* in annum (III. xvi. 9); and

(e) *omnibus heu PORTIS pendent mea noxia uota* (IV. iii. 17),

a verse strangely disparate with its pentameter.

Dismissing (e), it is hard not to believe that the truth in (d) lies hid beneath PORTUS of N rather than PULSUS of the other MSS. And here also *carptus* would fit, giving the sense of 'robbed, fleeced, made to pay,' as in Prop. II. xvi. 8 and Ovid, *Amores* I. viii. 91. Against the probability of *pulsus* there is a further point: had the lover's punishment been exclusion, the language of the next verse would be inappropriate,

in me *mansuetas* non habet illa *manus*;

'merciless handling' rather suits *carptus*, cf. *immites manus* in III. xv. 14.

However, without pressing the case to extremities, if this transposition truly accounts for three places, it should be referable to one of two causes: either the scribe—as may happen to any scribe in any age—had an unconsciously anagrammatic eye, or there was some peculiarity in the script from which he copied that made him apt to misread this particular collocation of letters. The former hypothesis is not confirmed by any general prevalence of anagrams in N; we are left with the second. Can some expert palaeographer put his

finger on some national peculiarity in forming (or ligaturing) the letters CARP which might account for their appearing as PARC (possibly PORT, perhaps *via* PORC) to a twelfth-century copyist?

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

'EX PELLE HERCULEM': HORACE,
ODES III. 3, 1-12.

WHEN Horace in vv. 4-5 mentions the perils of the Adriatic, it is not improbable, as Momm- sen saw, that he intends to recall some exploit of Augustus in those waters notorious or recent enough to warrant a contemporary reader's understanding the allusion without much trouble. It may perhaps be the fact that there is a reference to the emperor's mid-winter voyage from Samos (early 30 B.C.) and dramatic arrival, with shattered sails and disabled rudder, at Brindisi, where he quelled a dangerous mutiny among his dissatisfied veterans.¹

'Ciuium ardor praua iubentium' would readily suggest or be suggested by the circumstances of that voyage, and represents, as we know, the sincere sentiment of the substantial burgher.

One ought to welcome the evidences of sincerity in such a passage as this. With the slender material of heroism at his disposal Horace does singularly well up to a point: for anyone who follows the career of Augustus must be surprised that the victor of Philippi did not run for a Grecian port and must acknowledge that for him to complete that rough passage showed considerable strength of will.

But History, when conspired with Truth, will not further spare the Laureate.

It is a sad commentary on v. 6 to read² that the modern Hercules, discarding the skin of a lion, carried with him on his travels that of the seal as more naturally adapted to bear the brunt of fulminating Jove, and that at the distant muttering of the storm his habit was to retire to the shelter of a subterranean cell. One cannot but reflect how uncomfortable a god he must have been on Olympus when the father of gods and men announced his decisions in Homeric fashion.

D. L. DREW.

¹ Dio. Cass. li. 4. Suet. *Diu. Aug.* xvii.: Ab Actio cum Samum in hiberna se recepisset turbatus nuntiis de seditione praemia et missionem poscentium, . . . repetita Italia tempestate in traiectu bis conflictatus, primo inter promunturia Peloponnesi atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios utrobique parte liburnicarum demersa, simul eius, in qua uehebatur, fuis armamentis et gubernaculo diffracto. . . .

² Suet. *Diu. Aug.* xc. and xxix (Augustus' narrow escape from lightning during his Cantabrian expedition).

FURTHER NOTE ON THE BOIOTIAN LEAGUE.

IN the *C.R.* 1922, p. 70, I suggested that Thucydides' information (Bk. IV. 93) about the number of hoplites present in the Boiotian army at Delion (when considered alongside the information given in *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, ch. XI. § 4, as to the full quota each of the eleven Boiotian districts was bound to supply to the Federal army) perhaps justified the hypothesis that, in assembling its forces to meet the Athenian invasion, the Boiotian League was following the arrangement which we know was embodied in the Spartan *ἐνυμχία*, and which required each member of that Alliance to contribute two-thirds of its total forces to league expeditions, except when the war was to be waged in the very territory of some member, in which emergency that particular ally must turn out *πανστρατιᾷ*. And I further suggested that, if we could be satisfied that in 424 we find Boeotia following this rule at Delion, we might not unreasonably infer that she had borrowed the clause from the Peloponnesians, and had incorporated it as one of the terms of her own confederacy.

The following additional considerations tend, I think, to confirm the suggestion as to Delion; and also the further inference that the arrangement is to be regarded as an original and organic portion of the Federal agreement.

In Thucydides II. 9. 2, the *Βοιωτοί* are expressly mentioned as among the extra-Peloponnesian peoples who allied themselves with Sparta at the outbreak of the war with Athens in 431 B.C. Subsequent references by both Thucydides and Xenophon make it clear that this alliance was of the most intimate kind. Apparently Boiotia has not, as one independent League, merely associated herself on equal terms with another; but has actually agreed to enter the Peloponnesian *ἐνυμχία* on the same conditions as all other members. This no doubt promoted more effective unity in war-operations, and gave her the right to a representative and equal vote in the Allied Congress (Thuc. V. 17. 2; Xen. *Hell.* II. 2. 19; III. 5. 8 etc.); but it involved, among other things, her submission to a majority decision, to Lacedaemonian military leadership (Thuc. II. 10. 1; V. 64. 4; Xen. *Hell.* II. 4. 30), and in particular to the Peloponnesian rule which fixed the quota of troops each ally had in given circumstances to supply. Accordingly, for the first invasion of Attica in 431—an *ἐξοδος ἐκδήμος*, for which, as head of the league Sparta had requisitioned the usual *δύο μέρη* of their forces from each city—the Boiotians *μέρος μὲν τὸ σφύτερον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας παρέχοντο Πελοποννησίοις ἐνστρατεύειν, τοῖς δὲ λειπομένους (i.e. with the remaining one-third of their hoplites) they harassed Plataiai* (Thuc. II. 10. 2; 12. 5).

From 431 onwards, then, Boiotia is not only acquainted with the 'two-thirds' rule, but has been applying it, as in duty bound, to her own forces whenever Sparta summoned her to join in an allied expedition outside Boiotia itself. Now, if ever such a rule had been adopted by the Boiotian Confederacy as a regulative prin-

ciple of its own internal life quite apart from any alliance with Sparta, it would have been obligatory on each of the eleven Federal districts to supply two-thirds of its hoplite strength to any joint Boiotian expedition, with the further obligation upon any single district, within whose borders the campaign was actually taking place, to turn out *πανστρατιᾷ*. When therefore in 424 we find that, being now herself invaded, Boiotia assembled at Delion just about as many hoplites as, from the *full* Peloponnesian formula (supposing her to have adopted it), we could have predicted would have been there, we can scarcely deem the coincidence accidental. Rather, it strengthens the suspicion that she has made the principle her own, in practice at least, and has perhaps incorporated it into the framework of her own league.

When did she adopt the rule, if it was adopted? One possibility is that her experience since 431 had convinced her of its utility. In that case it may never have been formally embodied in the Federal pact, but grew up simply as a convenient practical arrangement. But it is much easier to believe that on so vital a point clear definitions had existed from the beginning of the League, i.e. from at least 447, after Koroneia, when the League was revived and reorganised. Boiotia lived under the constant menace of Athenian invasion (cp. *Hell. Oxyrh.* XII. 3), either into the *μέρος* of Tanagra via Oropos and Delion, or into that of Thebes itself via Plataiai. It was essential that these two districts should know precisely what support would be at once forthcoming from their confederates in such an emergency. Now in fixing the terms of a new constitution or alliance, it was common enough for Greek States to model themselves on suitable examples already existing, or to make appropriate borrowings; thus (apart from the constitutions she forced on some of her subjects) Athens clearly provided the model for the Argive democracy which developed *μετὰ τὰ Περσικά*, and in Elis and Mantinea also her influence is probably to be traced. The moderate oligarchs in Athens itself in 411 had the details of this very Boiotian constitution in view when they hammered out their own *πολιτεία*. Further, we know that in 447 the Boiotian oligarchs were in the closest touch with Sparta, which, ten years previously, had sent a powerful army into their country to assist them in establishing and organising their confederacy under the headship of Thebes (Diod. XI. 81). We can scarcely doubt, then, that for their own constitutional arrangements these oligarchs would borrow any features they thought suitable from the Peloponnesian *ἐνυμχία*; and the numbers at Delion suggest that the quota-formula was one of these. I am accordingly inclined to believe that this formula had been an integral part of the Federal pact since 447, and that it was such points of similarity which made it easy for the two Leagues to merge themselves into one for the purposes of the war against Athens in 431.

P. A. SEYMOUR.

CICERO, *AD FAMILIARES* VII. 32.

Equidem sperabam ita notata me reliquisse genera dictorum meorum, ut cognosci sua sponte possent. sed quoniam tanta faex est in urbe, ut nihil tam sit ἀκύθρον quod non alicui venustum esse videatur, pugna, si me amas, nisi acuta ἀμφιβολία, nisi elegans ὑπερβολή, nisi παράγραμμα bellum, nisi ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν, nisi cetera, quae sunt a me in secundo libro *DE ORATORE* per Antonii personam disputata de ridiculis, ἐντεχνα et arguta apparebunt, ut sacramento contendas mea non esse.

CICERO begs Volumnius to prevent the bad jokes of others being associated with his name. He refers to a passage in the second book of the *De Oratore*, in which the divisions of verbal wit are discussed. In that passage (§ 256) he has 'alterum genus est, quod habet parvam verbi immutationem, quod in littera positum Graeci vocant παρανομασίαν', and παράγραμμα in the letter to Volumnius is interpreted as having the same sense, a play upon words depending on a single letter. No authority is quoted for this sense of παράγραμμα. It seems probable that Cicero's definitions in the *De Oratore* are derived, at any rate in part, from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* III. 11. Aristotle there refers to τὰ παρὰ γράμμα σκώμματα. I suggest that Cicero wrote 'παρὰ γράμμα bellum,' which would balance 'ridiculum παρὰ προσδοκίαν.' With both words presumably 'dictum' must be supplied.

LEONARD WHIBLEY.

THEMISTOCLES, AESCHYLUS, AND DIODORUS.

IN *C.R.*, 1922, p. 161 f., Mr. M. Cary argues that Themistocles must have been ostracised in March or April, 470 B.C. So much depends on accurately dating this event that it is worth while stating the reasons for not accepting Mr. Cary's conclusions. His arguments, which are put with admirable lucidity and conciseness, are based on two pieces of evidence.

1. The *Persae* of Aeschylus, produced in March, 472 B.C., praises Themistocles. It must therefore, it is argued, be dated prior to his ostracism. But if there is any causal connexion between the two events, is it not equally probable that the ostracism suggested the panegyric? We know from Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 807) that Aeschylus did not get on with the Athenians, οὔτε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι συνέβαν' Αἰσχύλος, and in the play from which these words are quoted Aeschylus is represented as speaking out fearlessly for the banished Alcibiades. He would have got on well enough with his audiences if he had been content with championing statesmen who were going to fall into disfavour a few years later. True, the *Persae* took first prize; but its praises of Themistocles are not very provocative. They are limited to a single speech in the second play of a tetralogy, they do not mention his name, and they emphasise his guile. The play in short throws no light on the point we wish to elucidate.

2. Diodorus XI. 54-59 narrates under the year 471-0 the whole story of Themistocles'

decline and fall. Mr. Cary maintains that this must be the date of some one event and that that event must be the ostracism, since records of ostracism must obviously have been dated (while records of perpetual banishment need not) and we have in fact a knowledge of the dates of a large number of ostracisms.

It is true that a ten years' sentence necessitates a record of dates, whereas a life sentence does not. But, on the other hand, life sentences imply a permanent record and we know that records of them were in fact inscribed on pillars of bronze, whereas, when once a term of ostracism had expired, there would be no further motive for perpetuating any record, nor are any such records referred to by ancient writers. The normal process, when the ten years had expired, may well have been to erase the entries referring to it, as we know to have been done when a decree of permanent banishment was revoked (Andocides, *de Mysteriis*, 76). There is indeed a list of dates of ostracisms in the *Constitution of Athens*, but it is the list of those who were recalled at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, and is thus connected with an event which, reflecting credit on all concerned, would be specially likely to be remembered. In the case of subsequent ostracisms the dates are all more or less uncertain and are plainly based on historical combinations and associations, and not on any such documents as Mr. Cary supposes. Diodorus is a dangerous witness on this particular point. His narrative contains at least one very dubious statement (*J.H.S.*, XLI., p. 171, n. 26). The fact that he was ignorant of several important dates in the later career of Themistocles is curious evidence for the contention that he must have been certain about one. The *Bibliotheca Historica* was written in chronicle form, and each event has to be given a definite date. Suppose Diodorus had no definite dates at all but knew roughly that Themistocles disappeared from Athenian politics rather less than ten years after Salamis, what then more natural than that the whole story of the decline and fall should be inserted nine years after that event?

But the strongest argument against 470 B.C. is the positive evidence for an earlier date. If Mr. Cary is right, then Aristotle is wrong when he says (*Constitution of Athens*, chap. xxv.) that Themistocles co-operated with Ephialtes in the grand assault on the Areopagus; for the only way of reconciling that statement with the undisputed facts is to assume that Themistocles returned for a short while to Athens after his ten years of ostracism, and if the ostracism did not begin till 470 B.C. Ephialtes was dead before it expired. Mr. Cary points out that on inscriptions of this period facts are often recorded without dates. Such being the case the best method is surely to begin with the well attested statements of fact and make them the basis of our chronology. How this may be done with the decline and fall of Themistocles I have recently endeavoured to show in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI., pp. 165-178.

P. N. URE.

STOBAEUS, *ECLOGAE* II. vii. (WACHSMUTH II., p. 48, l. 9).

Κὰν λέγῃ δὲ τις μακαριότητα καὶ τὸ μακαρίως ζῆν, εἰς ταῦτ' οὐ συνδραμεῖται τοῖς τελικοῖς. Προσδιδαιρέον οὖν.

τοῖς τελικοῖς. Usener: ποῖα δὲ τέλῃ προσδιδαιρέον. Οὐκοῦν . . . Wachsmuth: τοῖς λοιποῖς. Apelt: τοῖς λεκτικοῖς. Strache: τοῖς τέλους λέγουσιν.

THESE lines from Arius Didymus fall in a section on *εὐδαιμονία*, which is said to be identical with *τέλος*, and is defined after Aristotle. The writer's point is that there is no essential difference between those who call the *τέλος μακαριότης* and those who call it *εὐδαιμονία*. Thus Strache's emendation is ruled out, and the other proposals are vague or involve considerable change. Read τοῖς <Ἀριστο>τελικοῖς, and compare Arius Didymus in Wachsmuth I. 103, 18. In the context the reference may not impossibly be to *Laws* 661b and 711e (cf. Wachsmuth II., p. 49, l. 23).

A. S. FERGUSON.

PREHISTORIC CORINTH.

IN *C.R.* XXXVI. 195 Mr. Shewan calls attention to a paper by Dr. Blegen in *A.J.A.* 1920, and rightly draws the conclusion that I had not seen it. I heard of it first from an American friend in August last. It is usual, I think, and at all events courteous, that an author who issues a direct challenge should forward a copy of it to the opponent attacked. This Dr. Blegen did not do. Through the kindness of Mr. Wace I have now received a copy of the paper from Dr. Blegen, and offer my thanks, which would have been no less hearty had the communication been less tardy.

However, there is no harm done. There is no essential difference between the evidence as quoted by Mr. Allen from Mr. Wace and that stated by Dr. Blegen; all my argument remains just where it was, and I have only to add the melancholy reflection that Dr. Blegen's logic is no better than Mr. Allen's. There is only one point in which they seem to differ; and that characteristically shows how little Dr. Blegen has grasped the real point at issue.

My argument in *Homer and History* is concerned only with the Mycenaean age, and within the Mycenaean age only with the latest period of it, that which is correlated with 'L.M. III.' No evidence which does not distinguish this period from all those preceding and following is relative to my discussion of the Achaeans. Yet neither Mr. Allen nor Mr. Blegen ever hints at any such distinction. Plainly they have not seen that their evidence is thereby rendered worthless for any purposes of the present controversy.

When reviewing Mr. Wace's evidence as quoted by Mr. Allen, I assumed that when Mr. Wace spoke of 'Mycenaean' he used it to refer to the 'Late Mycenaean' as distinguished from Late Helladic, which I took to mean the periods corresponding to L.M. I. and II. There was some ground for this assumption in the paper by

Blegen and Wace in *B.S.A.* XXII. on 'The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland,' to which Dr. Blegen refers for the explanation of his terminology. In the tabular statement on p. 187 the word 'Mycenaean' occurs only in the last section of Late Helladic, and is equated to L.M. III. It was, therefore, natural to suppose that when 'Mycenaean' is used it is intended to cover only this section. In my review of Mr. Allen I pointed out that in only three cases did Mr. Wace name Mycenaean ware, and drew the conclusion that where he said 'Late Helladic' he did not mean Mycenaean.

But Dr. Blegen seems to take a different view. He claims six sites as having lasted down to geometrical times, and therefore as inhabited in Late Mycenaean times. Let us compare his evidence with Mr. Wace's. I take Blegen's numbering for the sites:

Site.	Wace.	Blegen.
2	Not named	Late Helladic
3 (Aetopetra)	Mycenaean	Late Helladic
5 (Korakou)	Mycenaean	Late Helladic (Mycenaean)
6 (Arapiza)	Not quoted	'Some Mycenaean'
8 (Gonia)	Mycenaean	Late Helladic
9 (Perdikaria)	Not mentioned (unimportant)	A few Mycenaean sherds

The first conclusion one would be inclined to draw is that Messrs. Wace and Blegen regard 'Late Helladic' and 'Mycenaean' as convertible terms; but then we find Blegen saying that at Korakou 'in the Late Helladic Period Mycenaean pottery is predominant.' Does this mean Late Mycenaean (L.M. III.)? or does it mean Early and Middle Mycenaean (L.M. I. and II.)? Until we know this, the evidence is wholly irrelevant to any discussion of my theories as to the Achaeans; it is of no more value than 'what the soldier said.' To take a concrete instance; I have identified Aetopetra with Strabo's and Homer's Ephra on the Selleis, on the ground that Mycenaean pottery is found there. But if it should prove that Mr. Wace's 'Mycenaean' and Dr. Blegen's 'Late Helladic' mean Early or Middle Mycenaean, then this will be an argument against me; but in the meantime the nomenclature is left unexplained, and the testimony cannot be used in one way or the other. This loose sort of statement is much to be deprecated, and one cannot but regret the introduction of a new terminology, which only confuses the points at issue.

While I am on the subject of Ephra I may notice another error of Dr. Blegen's. He speaks of my identifying the Homeric Ephra with 'an entirely hypothetical site on a more or less hypothetical river in Sicyonian territory.' Plainly Dr. Blegen has not done me the honour of reading what I wrote, or he must have known that I was identifying, or trying to identify, a perfectly definite place mentioned by Strabo, *ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Σικυῶνα Σελλήεις ποταμὸς καὶ Ἐφύρα πλησίον κόμῃ*, viii. 3, 5 (quoted in *H. and*

H., p. 178). It may be pointed out that the accuracy of my identification of Aetopetra with Strabo's Ephyra is curiously confirmed by the fact that Strabo does not say that this Ephyra is 'on' the Selleis, he says that it is 'near' it, which exactly answers to the facts, Aetopetra being not in the main valley of the Longopotamo, but a short way up a tributary water-course.

Dr. Blegen says that I was in error in following Philippson's account of the climate of the central plateau where Corinth stands. This I must leave him to settle with Philippson; the point is of no importance to my argument. As to the picture that Blegen gives of the traffic of the region in Mycenaean (or Late Helladic—I do not know which is correct) times, it is precisely what I should call a 'trifling coasting traffic,' as opposed to the entrepôt trade across the isthmus on which Corinth grew rich. I note particularly that at this period there was, so far the evidence goes, no port at Cenchreae; only 'a few Early Helladic sherds' seem to have been found—not even so late as at Corinth itself, and not within centuries of Late Helladic. I should certainly have expected some evidence from Middle Helladic. But for any evidence of Cenchreae in the realm of Agamemnon we have still to wait. My thesis still holds the field.

WALTER LEAF.

THE OVID OF 'THE NEW PLAUTUS FRAGMENT.'

NEWS of the Ovid MS. in which the Plautine Fragment discussed by Dr. Lowe in the *C.R.* for Jan.-Feb. of this year (Vol. XXXVII. p. 24) was found would be very welcome to Ovidian scholars. Twelfth-century MSS. of the *Metamorphoses* are not exceptionally rare or necessarily valuable; but one such (if Heinsius was right in his estimate of its age) is or was of unique importance, since it contained the prose 'Arguments' for Book XV., which (except for a few fragments embedded in the text of *Urbinas* 341¹) are not preserved in any other MS. of the poem on record.

The MS. in question, which we may designate X, is described by Nicolaus Heinsius as follows: 'Codex Sancti Iohannis in Viridario Patavinus quingentorum annorum, quem ab eodem Turr(h)eno' ['Georgius de Turre, Medicinae Professor,' is mentioned just above] 'accepi utendum. In illo codice erant adscripta argumenta Luctatii (sic) omnia, quae non fuit otium conferre.'²

The experts³ tell us that most of the MSS.

from this Monastery of St. John passed to the Marcian Library at Venice; but in reply to enquiries kindly made by Dr. Gilson, the Librarian of the Marciana reports that X had disappeared from the Library before 1760. To assume any connexion between the 'Plautine' Ovid and X might seem altogether gratuitous but for 'the cover itself being' (says Dr. Lowe) 'in Venetian leather of the sixteenth century.' Either in its Paduan days or later at the Marciana, X may well have been dressed or redressed in the leather of the district. This is only a scrap of evidence, if evidence it can be called. But it does seem to make it worth while to give publicity to the note of Heinsius, in the hope that the MS. may be re-found, and if re-found examined *ad hoc*. X is a MS. of what Dr. Magnus calls the O class and might well help for the text of Ovid (the collation left by Heinsius is almost indecipherable), but the 'Arguments' are the thing. We sadly need for Book XV. the recension of 'Lactantius' which was preserved in MSS. of the O class, and not the less satisfactory recension which modern editors are driven to print. And here X might help not in Book XV. alone but throughout. The *Urbinas* which Dr. Magnus missed does help materially. Thus to cite three examples:

(1) It has, in lib. 5 fab. 1 '(Phineus) cum cosociis deriguit in saxum,' a very slight corruption for cum CC sociis, which is clearly right (*cf. Met.* 5. 208 f.) as against the 'cum sociis' of MN. (2) At lib. 9 fab. 10 it has 'Ianthen ex Theleste genitam fide spondet' (fide respondit N, despondit M, filio despondit κ *et Spirensis*). Here the 'tibi despondet' of *Met.* 9. 705 makes the one-letter-change 'ei despondet'—to provide the essential dative—seem almost a certainty. And (3) at lib. 7 fab. 27, for the 'fecit ut eam temptaret, an pudicitiam pueri possit servare' (so Dr. Magnus with MN; U reads 'posset'), by omitting 'servare' it leads us to the truth. 'pueri' ('puram V vulgo') is a corruption of 'tueri' and 'servare' a 'gloss' on 'tueri,' which MN have interpolated.

The text of the 'Lactantius' is in fact still seriously corrupt. If X helped us as the *Urbinas* does, it would be a distinct accession. The chances may seem slight:

'at tenuis non gloria si quem
Numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.'

D. A. SLATER.

HORACE, ODES I. 13, 15-16.

oscula quae Venus
quinta parte sui nectaris imbuat.

OF the two interpretations of this curious phrase given in the standard editions, one, that *quinta parte* means 'quintessence,' seems to involve an anachronism; for while *quinta pars* is perhaps a conceivable rendering of *πεντημόσια*, there is no sign that the latter phrase in classical times ever got beyond a philosophical technicality or could possibly be used to mean 'the choicest part' of something. The other

¹ Viz. Fabb. 16 and 17 after XV. 312 and Fabb. 28-30 after XV. 360. There is a full collation of this MS. in my edition which is passing through the Press.

² Excerpts given by N.H. show that on the fly-leaf of X were the lines from the *Tristia* ('orba parente suo' *a.g.s.*) which occur at the beginning of M and of other MSS. also.

³ I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Hall and Monsieur L. Dorez for information on the point.

interpretation, 'a fifth part,' has the apparent disadvantage of being oddly and calculatingly exact for a lover's compliment; one doubts if Lydia would feel very flattered at the assurance that her kiss was exactly 20 per cent. as sweet as Venus'. Yet it is noteworthy that two parallel passages are quoted, Athen. II. 39 B Ἴβυκος (fr. 33, Bergk) . . . τὸ μέλι λέγων ἕνατον εἶναι μέρος τῆς ἀμβροσίας κατὰ τὴν ἡδονήν, and Schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* IX. 113 (μέλι) ὃ δὴ τῆς ἀθανασίας δέκατον μέρος ᾤθησαν εἶναι,¹ both of which state that the thing it is desired to praise stands in an arithmetical relation to something divine, which relation can be expressed by a number having divine or magical associations (3×3 in one case, 10, suggesting Apollo's or Herakles' tithe, in the other). Arithmetic was less a thing of multiplication tables and percentages and more a matter of conjurations and theologies to the ancients, especially after Pythagoras, than to us. Now, as five is a Roman magic number, does Horace mean that Lydia needs but one more touch of magic to equal the love-goddess herself?

Another possibility, it seems to me, is the following: Venus has granted Lydia all the sweetness of her own last and warmest kiss. In Apuleius, *Met.* VI. 8, she offers for information leading to the capture of Psyche *septem saua suaui et unum* (the seventh, I take it) *blandientis adpulsu linguae longe mellitum*. Had Horace heard some tale in which the goddess' favours went in groups of five, instead of seven?

H. J. ROSE.

STATIUS, *SILVAE* I. *PRAEF.* 37.

'De quo nihil dico ne videar defuncti testis occasione mentiri, nam Claudii Etrusci testimonium† domomum est.'

PROFESSOR SLATER has recently (*C.R.* XXXVII. 20) made a new attempt to solve the corrupt *domomum*. Statius means to say: 'I will not adduce evidence which is open to suspicion, because I have other which is *irreproachable*.' That being quite certain, surely the simplest method of dealing with the monstrosity is to regard it as an ignorant transliteration of ἀμωμον, ἀ being mistaken by the copyist for δ and the breathing for ο.

H. G. EVELYN-WHITE.

PLAUTUS AND *THE BEGGAR'S OPERA*.

WE who lecture on Plautus are all, I suppose, profiting by the long run of Gay's play in London. We are telling our pupils: There you have the form of a Plautine play, as much song as conversation; with this difference, that Plautus never sinks to prose, but uses what corresponds to our blank verse (iambic senarii and sometimes trochaic septenarii, unaccom-

panied by music) for ordinary talk, and what corresponds to our rhymed verse (trochaic and iambic septenarii, accompanied by music) for impassioned talk. And the 'statuesque' form of all musical comedy, and markedly of Gay's, is ancient. When Macheath's ladies have a tug-of-war they tug rhythmically to music, not as they would tug in real life. Ancient, too, is the artificial (not realistic) disposition of the players on the stage, one (or more) to the right, one (or more) to the left, one (or more) in the background; with this difference, that the disposition is indicated in the Plautine text (without need of stage-directions), where *hic* means 'the player on my side of the stage,' *iste* 'the player on yours,' *ille* 'the player in the back-ground.'

The bolder of us are adding: And just as Gay's songs are all set to popular tunes—'Our Polly is a sad slut' to the tune of 'Oh! London is a fine town,' 'How cruel are the traitors' to the tune of 'Twas when the sea was roaring'—so Plautus' Cantica. But only the bolder of us. For until we lift the veil and see what song and music actually were in the theatres (with comedies and tragedies) and the variety theatres (with mimes) of Tarentum (the home of Aris-toxenus), we cannot know for certain what Livius Andronicus transplanted from the capital of Magna Graecia to the capital of Italy.

But I wonder whether all have noticed what I failed to notice until my *n*th visit to the Lyric Theatre—the close correspondence of a sentence of Gay (spoken by Polly to Lucy) with a line of Plautus (spoken by Bacchis to her sister):

Beg. Op. III. xiii.: Let us retire, my dear Lucy, and indulge our sorrows; the noisy crew, you see, are coming upon us. [*Exeunt.*]

A Dance of Prisoners in Chains, etc.

Bacch. 107: Simul huic nesciōquoui turbæ quæ huc it decedamus hinc. [*Exeunt.*]

Saltatio Comissantium.

W. M. LINDSAY.

A TRANSLATION FROM CATULLUS.

IN proof of the intrinsic superiority of verse to prose as a medium of translation from verse I quoted (*Translation and Translations*, p. 78) a version of the famous distich of Catullus (85)

Odi et amo. quare id faciam fortasse requiris,
nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior

from Mrs. J. M. Krause's little volume of *Latin Love Poems*, published in 1912, which ran as follows:

'I hate, yet love! You ask how this can be?
I only know its truth and agony.'

I have lately learned that Professor J. Wight Duff, in his *Literary History of Rome*, p. 315 (1909), rendered as follows:

'I hate, yet love: you ask how this may be.
Who knows? I feel its truth and agony.'

I would therefore assure the reader, as I can, that this agreement, close in all essentials as it is, is quite independent. I will not say 'accidental.' For in the work of competent and faithful translators such coincidences must and should be found.

I take the opportunity of acknowledging to Mr. Higham (*C.R.* 1922 p. 150) that Professor Wilamowitz's dictum in his essay 'Was ist übersetzen?' that 'jede rechte Übersetzung ist

travestie,' is not, as I was inclined to think, a depreciation of 'accurate' translation, but a statement that 'every right translation is a change of dress,' although this meaning of *travestie* is not recognised in any German-English dictionary with which I am acquainted, and appears to be rare in German literature itself, in which the word has generally the sense of a 'scherzhafte umkleidung.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

REVIEWS

VIRGIL'S *ECLOGUES*.

The Eclogues, Bucolics, or Pastorals of Virgil. A revised Translation, with Introduction, Text, and Notes, by T. F. ROYDS. One vol. 8" × 5½". Pp. xiii + 121. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922. 6s. net.

A NEW accession to Mr. Blackwell's series of 'Virgilian Studies,' is always a pleasant and a useful thing; and Mr. Royds has a double claim to welcome both as the author of two previous contributions to it—his study of the *Pollio*, and his invaluable *Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*—and as the originator (so he now lets us know with a touch of justifiable pride) of the familiar light-green binding which is inseparable to many of us from the memory of Warde Fowler and from our own later appreciation of Virgil himself.

This volume is of a slighter content. It consists in substance of a revised reprint of Mr. Royds' verse translation of the *Eclogues* which originally appeared in 1907. Opposite this the Latin is printed, for which Hirtzel's Oxford text is, with one exception, followed. There are three pages of introduction; and a number of notes, 'based on many years of miscellaneous reading.' Except for a detailed discussion of the well-known textual problem in *Ecl.* IV. 62, they do not go into questions of pure scholarship; for the book 'is an appeal to the man in the armchair, who is revolving memories of a wasted youth'—but was it wasted, if this is the armchair occupation to which it led?—'and contemplating a Latinless education for his eldest son.' If the notes are not always strictly relevant, they

are always interesting and often entertaining.

'My own poor verse,' Mr. Royds modestly says, may 'reflect too pale an image' of poems which, in spite of all their faults and weaknesses, have a strange and imperishable charm. Indeed the *Eclogues* are, in a very special degree, untranslatable. Beyond everything, beyond their own romantic quality or the thousand associations which have gathered round them, they depend on that incomparable beauty of sound which made them from the first, and makes them still, a new revelation. This cannot, except here and there by a lucky chance, be conveyed in other language. But translators will always follow the lure.

It may be doubted whether the blank verse chosen here as the metrical vehicle is capable of carrying enough of the Virgilian music; and the decasyllabic rhymed couplet, used (and used very beautifully) for the two Daphnis songs in *Eclogue* V., has its own difficulties and drawbacks. *Lycidas* is the only English poem in which the specific musical quality of the *Eclogues* reappears; and some mixed metre, irregularly rhymed on that model, may perhaps be the nearest solution. But to break into a completely different metre for certain passages is a very dubious device. The rhyming elegiacs, used by Mr. Royds for the amoebean couplets of *Eclogue* IV., graceful as they are, come in with something of a shock of changed gauge; and the jiggish Irish-Melodies stanzas used for the contest of Corydon and Thyrsis in *Eclogue*

VII. are a metre not only different in key, but full of traps for the unwary.

Bacchus joys in the vine, poplar charms Her-
cules

is a line of interpretable though ambiguous rhythm. But no one would readily guess that it was meant to be metrically identical with

O hither, if Corydon still is thy care.

The modernisation of classical names is a reversion to Elizabethan practice which was the subject of some amusing remarks by Conington. More elasticity is allowable now than in the Victorian age. But Amaryll, Galate, Damoete are nevertheless, like the old Mopsy and Alexy, odd; and a translation of Virgil, whatever it is, must not be odd. Nor is there room in it for much divergence from fidelity whether by excess or defect. 'The twelfth year's kiss had touched my brow' forces the note of *Alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus*; it is un-Virgilian. And, on the other hand, 'Hesper brings night for thee' falls sadly short of the magical *tibi deserit Hesperus Oetam*. But with allowance made for such occasional and perhaps inevitable lapses, Mr. Royds' version is always good and often excellent, whether in its handling of the familiar idyllic style (that of Tennyson's *English Idyls*)—

Then do thou take this crook : Antigenes
Oft asked and ne'er received it, though e'en
then

He was a loveable youth ; 'tis shod with brass
And knotted evenly—a perfect crook—

or in its management of the statelier movement and richer music (still based on the single line and only preluding the full splendours of the Virgilian period)—

Take thy great heritage, thine hour is come,
Blest offspring of the Gods, great seed of Jove.

See how Creation bows her massy dome,
Oceans and continents and æry deeps :
All nature gladdens at the coming age.

A few notes may here be added as suggestions for corrections or improvements in the further issue which no doubt will soon be called for. In the text of *Ecl.* VIII. 61, *hos* should be *hoc*. In *Ecl.* IX. 46 ff., the lines given to Lycidas in the text are given to Moeris in the translation, and there is a similar discrepancy at *Ecl.* V. 19. 'Hinder' should be 'hinders' in the quotation from Scott on *Ecl.* VIII. 66. 'Seafarer' is an inadequate translation of *vector* in *Ecl.* IV. 38, and 'crooked mind' of *mens laeva* in *Ecl.* I. 16; and 'running rills' as a rendering of *liquidi fontes* in *Ecl.* II. 59, though it can be defended, is open to criticism. The quotation from Marlowe's *Passionate Shepherd* on *Ecl.* II. 28 is given in a form for which there is no authority; though Mr. Royds may plead that he is only following other editors' example in making his own variation from the texts of 1599 and 1600, which themselves differ very materially. But before citing Burns' 'Ca' the yowes to the knowes' as an illustration of Virgil's *armenta vocabat*, he might have ascertained what the verb *ca'* means; *ca' canny* is, alas! a phrase with which we are only too familiar. Why should it be noted on *malo me Galatea petit* that 'in Elizabethan days unlucky actors were pippin-pelted'?

The quotations from Martyn's Commentary of 1749 deserve special thanks; they are highly amusing, and not uninteresting. There is still much to be learned by going back to the old and almost forgotten commentators; the library of a Virgilian student is hardly complete if it does not include La Cerda's great edition of a century earlier still.
J. W. MACKAIL.

A HISTORY OF GREEK MATHEMATICS.

A History of Greek Mathematics. By
SIR THOMAS HEATH. Clarendon
Press, Oxford, 1921. Two vols.
50s. net.

SIR THOMAS HEATH has crowned his services to the history of Greek mathe-

matics in this work. A history of Greek mathematics has long been a desideratum of Greek scholarship. No other British, it might almost be said no European, scholar was so well equipped for the difficult undertaking.

The combination of the requisite knowledge of the mathematical sciences with an exact and conscientious acquaintance with the niceties of the Greek language is very rare, and to this rare combination Sir Thomas Heath adds a remarkable appreciation of the logical and general philosophical bearings of his subject-matter. He does not confine his interest to the technical treatises, but enlarges his view to embrace the developments which are traceable in, for example, the works of Plato and Aristotle. The result is that his history is not only of value to those whom curiosity has attracted to the records of ancient science, but is an indispensable aid to all students of ancient philosophy and literature. Many of those who can scarcely trust themselves within the abstract world of the mathematical sciences will find themselves led by the hand to points of view from which some of the perplexities which have long embarrassed them in their own chosen regions of study will be seen to have vanished away. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge, for example, the light thrown by this and Sir Thomas Heath's earlier works upon such familiar difficulties as the discussion of the proper *curriculum* of higher education in the *Republic* of Plato or the account of the nature and method of demonstrative science in Aristotle.

The present work has the eminent merit of being readable. This is partly the result of its admirable order and clearness. It was a happy idea of Sir Thomas Heath, while preserving the general chronological order, to deviate from it in the case of certain special problems, so as to exhibit in their connexions the various successive attempts to solve them. This method is successfully employed in relation to the three famous problems of the squaring of the circle, the duplication of the cube, and the trisection of any given angle. These episodes, if we may so call them, have a kind of dramatic unity of their own. On the other hand, where the unity of person takes the place of the unity of subject, the author recognises and adapts his method to this. Thus a variety at once agreeable and illuminating is

introduced into the record. That record covers nearly two millennia, and it is no small feat so to have presented it as to keep the reader's attention and interest from beginning to end.

Orderliness and clearness is perhaps no more than might fairly have been expected from a mind disciplined in the mathematical sciences. But more than these qualities are required to make such a work readable. Throughout the work there is a living sense of the background, of the constant connexion of the growth of the mathematical science in Greece with wider and, if the word may be pardoned, more humane issues. The development is never divorced from the advances in other directions, without which it would have been impossible, and to which it made its fertilising contribution. It is this breadth of view and sympathy which appears the most distinctive character of Sir Thomas Heath's treatment, and justifies the hope he expresses that his book will give a fresh interest to the story of Greek mathematics in the eyes of classical scholars as well as of mathematicians. Those of us in whom defect of early training or the necessities of a division of labour in so wide a field as that of Greek culture have narrowed the scope of their studies will welcome the author's gently-worded reminder that the austere side of the Greek genius is apt to be overlooked, and that Euclid is as typically a Greek as Aristotle or Plato or Sophocles or Phidias. The direction of the attention of even the young to these sides of the Greek genius might serve to give our literary education a seriousness and robustness which at times it seems to lack. There are tendencies in it to a somewhat sickly or self-indulgent aestheticism for which the severer discipline of grammar is scarcely a sufficient makeweight.

For most scholars the work is full and detailed enough to form almost a library of reference (the excellent indices increase its value in this respect), and they will find themselves amply rewarded for the trouble of familiarising themselves with its structure and arrangement. In the first volume the non-mathematical scholar will en-

counter little that should interrupt the flow of its perusal. Naturally, in the second (which begins with Aristarchus of Samos, and ends with some minor commentators of the fourteenth century), the topics are more difficult and the exposition more technical. Yet even there the general reader would be unwise to pass over the accounts given of the beginnings of trigonometry, mensuration, and algebra.

It is needless to say that the work is thoroughly up-to-date, or that the author

is master of the wide and increasing literature of the subject. For this sort of work scholars cannot be too grateful; it puts in their hands an instrument on which they can thoroughly rely and which displaces the ruder tools which they had attempted to fashion for their own use. Sir Thomas Heath has spared no pains to make available to his fellow-scholars the results of his wide learning, his indefatigable industry, his careful and exact scholarship, his gift of lucid and interesting exposition.

J. A. SMITH.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT KORAKOU.

Korakou, a Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth. By CARL W. BLEGEN, Ph.D. 12" x 9". Pp. xiv + 140, with illustrations in text, and eight plates. Boston and New York (published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens), 1921.

IT is some consolation to a student who reported a prehistoric site near Corinth in 1893 and was assured it was a mare's nest, 'part of Roman Lechaion,' to receive this admirable summary of its contents for review. The stratified mound at Korakou is conspicuous enough, on the low plateau which extends westward from the Isthmus along the Peloponnesian shore of the gulf, both from landward and from the railway on the shore; and as it has from twelve to fifteen feet of stratified débris over an area of about 20,000 square yards, it offers every prospect of valuable information for the period covered by its occupation. Not all this area has been excavated yet, but the numerous trial-pits, sunk by Dr. Blegen and his colleagues of the American School in 1915 and 1916, were supplemented by completely clearing the buildings which were encountered in some of them; and the copious material, including about 100,000 specimens of various kinds of pottery, is sufficient to justify publication and to enable the main bearings of the discovery to be appreciated.

Of the three principal strata, the lowest is separated from the second by a burnt layer; but the site seems to have been reoccupied promptly, for

there is no such layer of fallow soil as separates the First City at Hissarlik from the Second; and there is only enough change of culture to suggest a probable cause for the catastrophe. Between the second and third layers there is greater continuity, almost complete at some points, though part of the site was sufficiently remodelled by levelling, to bring about a perceptible unconformity of deposits, and make a gap in the development of style. The lowest layer belongs to an early phase of the Aegean Bronze Age; and the uppermost to the latter part of the late Minoan culture.

Though none of the successive styles of ceramic and decorative art are wholly new, and though most of them represent local extensions of cultures already recognised as belonging to Central Greece, the Cyclades, and Crete, the varieties represented at Korakou are sufficiently well characterised, and sufficiently clearly correlated in sequence of date, by the stratification already noted, to justify Dr. Blegen in introducing a new scheme of classification, roughly parallel to, and homologous with, the 'Minoan' classification proposed by Sir Arthur Evans for Cretan and other South Aegean material; though of course the precise concordance of its subdivisions with those of the Minoan series must not be assumed, and is in fact, as Dr. Blegen himself insists, precluded by the nature of the material, and by evidence of a certain lagging of the mainland civilisation behind that of the archipelago. The

whole mainland series Dr. Blegen proposes to call 'Helladic'; its three main phases, corresponding with the three strata at Korakou, are to be 'early,' 'middle,' and 'late,' each with numerical subdivisions I. II. III.; 'Early Helladic I.' is in part contemporary with Early Minoan I. (and more assuredly with its 'Early Cycladic' counterpart on the stratified site at Phylakopi in Melos), but overlaps somewhat into Early Minoan II.; 'Early Helladic III.' is approximately equivalent to Middle Minoan I.; and so forth. Estimated in absolute chronological intervals, with the help of the Minoan concordances with Egyptian series, 'Early Helladic' would thus end about 2000 B.C.; 'Middle Helladic' about 1600 B.C.; and 'Late Helladic' about 1100 B.C., when the Korakou settlement gave place to the Corinth of Dorian folk-memory and Early Iron Age culture.

It is of course essential to bear in mind that 'Helladic,' like 'Cycladic' and 'Minoan,' is a regional term only; it denotes the Bronze Age culture of mainland Greece (and may eventually have to be further defined as Peloponnesian or at most Saronic in extent), and presumes no inferences as to the 'Hellenic' or non-Hellenic quality of the populations of this 'Helladic' region.

The reason for instituting a fresh nomenclature (for in discreet archaeology '*nomina non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*') is that the excavation of Korakou has established a sequence of real cultural types which had been widely suspected to exist, but was not demonstrable in default of a stratigraphical standard. Even the German investigation of the lower layers at Tiryns, in the years immediately preceding the War, did not fulfil expectation on this point. That cramped and complicated site, indeed, raised more problems than it solved. At Argos, on the other hand, and still more at Mycenae, stratification was defective or unrecognisable. Korakou, mute and inglorious historically, lay far enough afield to avoid the lesser shocks of reconstructive caprice, and just near enough to the Isthmus and to the Minoan exploitation-areas of the Saronic

and Argive Gulfs, to experience one catastrophe of destruction, and one fit of town-planning when at last Minoan exploitation reached the Corinthian lowland beyond the passes: just enough to punctuate its record without reducing it to a palimpsest.

The main features of Helladic history (for when we can safely pass beyond the reconstitution of arts and industries to that of communities and their intercourse with each other as wholes, it seems absurd to withhold the name of 'history' from our discoveries) are briefly these. Not at Korakou itself, but at the neighbouring site of Gonia, an ancient southerly offshoot of the 'second period' of the neolithic culture of Thessaly was superseded by a not quite primitive but fairly early exploitation of the Isthmus region by representatives of the Cycladic equivalent of Early Minoan culture. Crete, in this early phase, was still mainly pre-occupied with internal problems; in comparison with the Cycladic islets it must have loomed large as America in face of sixteenth-century Europe. But the previous culture, of Thessalian affinities, did not wholly die out; and the painted decoration in Early Helladic culture combines northerly and continental with easterly and insular elements.

Meanwhile, the sombre monochrome art of that obscure culture which we know provisionally as 'Minyan' from its representative site at the Boeotian Orchomenos, spreading northwards into Thessaly, broke through southwards also past the Isthmus, and dominated north-western Peloponnese, and probably much besides. Korakou was burned and reoccupied by a largely Minyan culture; but industrially at least Korakou absorbed its devastators, and the Middle Helladic culture which resulted is a curious blend of Minyan technique, Early Helladic traditions, and new elements from the archipelago, Cretan now rather than Cycladic; all applied to local materials which limited proficiency in some directions, while admitting fresh experiment in others.

The sparsely-painted goblets which Dr. Blegen has pleasantly labelled 'Ephyrean' have indeed a curious

charm of their own. They faded however before the gaudier ornaments of Argive 'Mycenaean' style; as Korakou itself fell out of competition with the Tiryns and Mycenae of the Late Hellenic phase.

Dr. Blegen's chief care, inevitably, has been to describe and interpret the pottery. He has not always grasped the whole significance of style and technique—for example, in his cautious handling of the variable textures of clay and paint. He suffers, too, as we all suffer, from the vague and anomalous usage of common technical terms. And his hypothesis of retardation, as between insular and continental 'periods,' leads him occasionally into difficulties in detail. But his analysis of the material carries conviction, on all essential

points; and only a similar discovery, in equally competent hands, can settle the questions which remain in suspense.

Naturally, a site only partially excavated, and never palatial, cannot offer much in the way of architecture; but the house labelled 'F' with its apsidal end is an interesting supplement to the evidence for the existence and wide distribution of this curious type; and the house 'L' gives occasion to revise the views of Dr. Frickenhaus about his so-called 'Greek temple' above the megaron at Tiryns.

The book is a valuable addition to our equipment for the study of prehistoric Greece. It is handsomely printed and illustrated, and in every way worthy of the American School of Classical Studies. J. L. MYRES.

THE PATTERN OF THE *ILIAD*.

The Pattern of the 'Iliad.' By J. T. SHEPPARD, M.A., Litt.D. One vol. 8vo. Pp. x+216. London: Methuen and Co., 1922. 7s. 6d. net.

'It takes the *Iliad* as a completed work of art, and, without asking how it got its present shape, tries to show clearly what shape in fact it has. . . . Homer has framed his poem in a certain symmetry. He likes to throw his material into a shape that is simple and quite easily recognizable. If the scheme involves repetitions, he does not object, but regards the fact as a positive advantage. The several patterns play on one another and contribute to the beauty of the whole like the designs in some elaborate tapestry.'

Such, in the author's words, is the purpose and scope of this book. There are but few who in their undergraduate days read right through the *Iliad*; it is well for every beginner, before accepting any theory of its 'composition,' to examine the poem as it actually is. Every classic has a right to be studied in its traditional form, and a careful consideration of its peculiarities and even its discrepancies may often bring us an explanation from the author himself. It is only as a desperate remedy that we should call in the services of the interpolator and cobbler; the most

confirmed Homeric trinitarian and multitudinarian must agree to give the *Iliad* a chance of being first studied as an artistic whole.

Dr. Sheppard believes in the unity of the *Iliad*, and his book is a valuable addition to the work of Lang, Shewan, Scott, Laurand, Terret and Rothe. He is in some respects more ambitious than his precursors, and he pursues his subject with perhaps undue insistence on the details of the 'panels' and 'triptychs' that go to the making of the 'pattern.' He has already followed this line of interpretation with signal success, especially in his illuminating exposition of recurring words in the *Persians* (*Greek Tragedy*, p. 45). The method has its pitfalls, and one is often tempted to find a pattern where none was intended; the pursuit of 'catch-words' in Theognis and 'responsions' in Pindar has not always promoted our understanding of the poets. On p. 19 of *The Pattern* we read that 'then, to balance Calchas in the companion picture, Nestor is introduced. . . . The central panel . . . contains the intervention of Athene, a brilliant picture, corresponding in the larger scheme of the whole episode first to the intervention of Apollo in his anger, then to the nod of Zeus which is presently to shake

Olympus.' Such statements frequently repeated may well mislead the incautious reader and make him imagine that an incident has been introduced by the poet not because it was inevitable in the development of the story, but merely to supply a curve in the pattern required by the presence of a similar curve on the other side of the scroll. One may e.g. come to think that Priam visits Achilles in the twenty-fourth book because another old man visited another Greek prince in the first book. Such misunderstandings cannot be helped; the pattern is certainly there, cf. Dr. Sheppard's article in the number of *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* issued December, 1922.

The recurrence of design or substance or both, if used by a master craftsman, greatly adds to the interest of his work. The effective use of symmetry and number was understood by the artist as well as the Pythagorean in Dante; we are fascinated by the carefully arranged numerical scheme with its mystic threes and tens, and we like to remember that each great section of the *Comedy* ends with the significant word *stelle*. From the joyous throng of repentant souls (*Purg.* II.) sailing over ocean with the angel clad in radiant light, yearning to begin their hard penance, we cast our thoughts back to the miserable crew of shivering spirits recoiling in the gloom on the

banks of Acheron, eager yet shrinking before the horrid 'ferryman of the livid marsh with rings of fire around his eyes' (*Inf.* III.). Homer makes equally effective use of similar design, and frequent repetitions lend force to one another.

Dr. Sheppard has retold the whole story of the *Iliad*, with copious extracts translated, abridged or paraphrased. He has not attempted in his rendering to convey the glamour of the original, and has perhaps been willing to sacrifice too much and throw away a fine cargo that might well have been salvaged. Cf. 'There is no spare booty left over for distribution' (p. 17), 'It is not even decent' (p. 17), 'You actually threaten to take from me' (p. 18), 'There are plenty here to honour me' (p. 18). Is anything gained by making the language so near to the talk of everyday? It may give a wrong idea of Homeric poetry to the Greekless reader for whom, at least in part, the book is intended.

Dr. Sheppard's volume deserves a hearty welcome from all lovers of Homer, especially those who in the face of all destructive criticism still hold that—

The shape remains,
The rondure brave, the lilled loveliness,
Gold as it was, is, shall be evermore:
Prime nature with an added artistry.

T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

OLYMPIC VICTORS.

Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art. By WALTER WOODBURN HYDE. One vol. Pp. xix+406. 30 Plates, 2 Plans, and 80 Text-figures. Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921.

MR. HYDE has already published valuable works dealing with Greek athletic art. In this large and elaborate volume (which incorporates much of his earlier writings) he has produced a comprehensive survey of the whole field. The book is planned upon a massive scale. After a brief discussion of Cretan and Homeric sports, and of the origins of the Great Games (which he connects

with the cult of the dead), he passes to his main theme. He treats elaborately of the relations of the various artistic schools, the development of the representation of motion, and many other topics; one of the most interesting sections is that devoted to the assimilation of victor statues to types of gods and heroes. Most of the best-known extant athletic statues are fully discussed, including such definitely non-Olympic works as the Charioteer of Delphi. The book is almost too well documented, and some opinions which are discussed might well have been ignored; but this is a fault on the right side. Mr. Hyde's own contributions

to criticism are on the whole sensible rather than brilliant, and he is very cautious. The most important of his original suggestions will be found in the sixth chapter, which is based upon his earlier contributions to the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Accepting (after elaborate argument) the Agias as the touchstone of Lysippan art, he argues, first, that the well-known marble head from Olympia (Bildw. v. Ol. Tafelbd. Pl. LIV. 3-4) is from Lysippus' own hand, being part of his statue of the Acarnanian pancratiast mentioned by Pausanias (VI. 2. 1); and, secondly, that the marble boy's head from Sparta (published as Scopaic by W. N. Bates in *A.J.A.* XIII. 1909) is an eclectic work of c. 300 B.C. showing mainly Lysippan and Praxitelean influences. A necessary corollary to this chapter is the seventh, where he attacks the view that all Olympic victor statues were of bronze. The eighth and last chapter deals in detail with the positions of victor statues in the Altis and with kindred topics. There is a good index

and an elaborately subdivided list of contents.

The book suffers in places from a congestion which leads to obscurities and small inconsistencies. Instances of this occur on p. 26 (in the discussion of the position of victor statues at Delphi) and on pp. 54 to 58, where Pliny's dictum on the limitation of iconic statues is first rejected and then tacitly accepted. There is one mistake in Greek (p. 206), Pausanias' words *ὀπλιτοδρομεῖν ἀσκήσαντος* being translated as though the aorist were a present: unfortunately an argument is based on this mistranslation. On p. 16 an impossible date is assigned to the Olympian Heraeum: and the footnote referring to E. N. Gardiner's article in *B.S.A.* XXII. gives the reader no idea of the strength of the evidence against the traditional dating. But taken as a whole the book is extremely careful and accurate, and will be useful to students of Greek sculpture and athletics.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

WOMEN IN GREEK TRAGEDY.

Die Frauengestalten im Attischen Drama.
Von DR. KARL KUNST. One vol.
8vo. Pp. viii + 208. Wien u. Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1922.
M. 100.

DR. KUNST's method is to take the surviving plays of Greek tragedy in succession, and study their female characters, including deities and choruses. He has taken a wide subject, and one which does not reveal its secrets except to minute and repeated study, and on the whole he is to be congratulated on the result. He has not perhaps quite the insight and sympathy necessary for complete success. He appears not to be acquainted with the work of Jebb, Verrall, or Murray; if the first could be ignored, the last is, with Wilamowitz, the most brilliant interpreter of Greek Tragedy in the last fifty years; and it is strange to write a book on this subject without betraying some knowledge of Verrall. Still, a student anxious to assure himself that he has not overlooked some point in a tragic heroine will find Dr. Kunst's

book a real help, though it is neither complete nor infallible nor inspired. It is rather a bit of sound, competent work on a subject that demands for entire success something more than soundness and competence.

The interpreter of characters in drama sails between Scylla and Charybdis. He reads too little into them, or too much. Dr. Kunst, though he has not been devoured by either monster, has made the acquaintance of both. It is surely absurd to infer from Medea's remarks on the relative inconveniences of child-bearing and battle that 'her maternal love is modified by thoughts *an die furchtbaren Wehen der Geburten*,' to trace in l. 329 of the *Hercules Furens* 'the typical feminine interest in dress and external appearance,' in 634 ff. of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* to detect 'the specific feminine regard for decorum'—and is it specifically feminine?—or to perceive traces of *unbewusste* (or *bewusste*) *Sinnlichkeit*, when the words *ἀνυμέναιος* or *ἄλεκτρος* occur. On the other hand, Dr. Kunst fails to note

Medea's skilful attempts to play on a latent antagonism between the male and female sex, and so misinterprets the attitude of the *Medea* chorus. His remarks on Electra in the *Orestes* take no account of the mental state of a woman who has for six days been watching by a sick bed. He relates this Electra to the Sophoclean Electra, whereas the play is clearly a sequel, the poet taking up the story where he had left it when Orestes and his sister have murdered their mother.

Dr. Kunst's innovations are few and unhappy. Not only does he allow no importance to the sacrifice of Iphigenia in determining the mind of Clytaemnestra to crime, but he represents the queen as dominated by Aegisthus who 'holds her completely in his power.' (Incidentally it is not the sight of his dead body which leads to her 'mental collapse.' His body is not on the stage, and the collapse is very brief, as the following scene shows; though the writer well notes that in 893 she speaks from her heart and without a mask.)

Fault-finding is a reviewer's vice, and I should be sorry if these criticisms conveyed a too unfavourable impression. Considering the extreme difficulty of his subject, Dr. Kunst has produced a useful book, written with commonsense and thoroughness. With the majority of his judgments there can be no quarrel, and he has formed a base from which further ascents can be made. We hope that before a second edition of his book is published, he will at least have made the acquaintance of Professor Murray's writings. There would have been fewer gaps in his work, if he had studied them.

The book ends with a study of the women of Aristophanes and the New Comedy. The former, though few in number, are *πλείονες ἢ βελτίονες*: of the latter Dr. Kunst has not made as much as the sources, however fragmentary, allow.

I should add that the book is written in a style that would be incredible, if it were not habitual in works of German scholarship. R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

LYCURGUS: THE SPEECH AGAINST LEOCRATES.

Lycurgus: The Speech against Leocrates.

Edited by A. PETRIE, M.A., Professor of Classics, Natal University College. One vol. 4½" x 7". Pp. xlii + 254. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 5s. 6d.

PROFESSOR PETRIE has placed students of the Attic orators under an obligation by providing them at last with an adequate edition of *Lycurgus* with English notes, the only previous edition being that of John Taylor, published in 1743. The *Speech against Leocrates*, the only work of *Lycurgus* which has come down to us, gives an interesting insight into the mind of one who was not only an eminent statesman but also a true patriot, and a conservative in the best sense of the word. Directed against an Athenian who had deserted his country after the battle of Chaeronea, it is a *locus classicus* on patriotism, and deserves to be read on this account, as well as for its excursions into ancient history and its quotations from the poets. Whether it should be used as a school

text when Demosthenes and Lysias are available is another question.

Professor Petrie's Introduction provides in a clear and attractive form all the necessary information about the life and times of the author, his style,¹ his place among the Attic orators, and the sources of the text. A bibliography would have been a useful addition.

The text follows in the main the Teubner text of Blass, but the editor, no doubt rightly, adheres to the traditional text in a number of passages where Blass has made changes in order to avoid *hiatus*² (a point in which *Ly-*

¹ Among the epideictic features, p. xxxiv, the Isocratean use of 'double alliteration' might be added; cp. (§ 10) ἡ τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς δεδομένη δωρεά. In note 7 on the same page *μηλόβοτος* (§ 145), which is also Isocratean, might have been quoted as the best example of a word borrowed from the poets.

² A particularly glaring instance is to be found in § 9, where Blass alters *περιέληφεν ἐνὶ ὀνόματι* into *περιέληφε* (*sic*) *ἐν ὀνόματι*, thus introducing a new hiatus in order to avoid one which even Isocrates allows.

curgus is much less strict than his master Isocrates) and from consideration of the *numeri*, which no doubt occur, but to which Blass assigns much too much importance. A number of passages are discussed in a critical appendix. A list of the passages where the text departs from that of Blass would have been a valuable addition.

The very full notes are too long for a school edition, and seem, therefore, to aim at providing for the more advanced reader; on the other hand, such a note as that on § 16, 'γάρ, *narrativum*, introducing the story: do not translate,' appears to be intended for the most elementary student.

Space forbids the discussion of many details, and I confine myself to a few brief comments:

§ 1. τοῖς ἥρωσι: reference might be given to Paus. I. 5, 1-2.

§ 14. A note on the commercial importance of Rhodes is called for in a commentary on this scale.

§ 17. κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ἀκτὴν apparently means a point on the Bay of Phaleron.—διὰ τῆς πυλίδος, cf. Plato, *Lysis* 203; [Dem.] in *Euerg. et Mnesib.* 26 (p. 1146).—τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνῶς τῆς σωτείρας: the Greek implies that only one temple is referred to (not two, as P.), and this is supported by a comparison of Strabo, p. 306, Paus. I. 1, 3.

§ 19. μετέχων αὐτῆς: αὐτοῖς has better authority and gives sense (i.g. Phyrinus and the other partners). The comparison with § 58 is no argument.

§ 22. ἐράνους, here 'subscriptions' rather than 'loans.' ἐράνους εἰσφέρειν meaning 'to contribute to a society for mutual assistance,' ἐρ. διαφέρειν apparently means to 'distribute such funds,' so here to 'close his subscriptions.'

§ 27. τὰς ἐσχάτας τιμωρίας κ.τ.λ.: the text of this law is given in [Dem.] in *Lacrit.* 51 (p. 941).

§ 31. ταῖς ἀραῖς, which most editors change to ταῖς γραφαῖς, is no doubt rightly retained and explained by P.; ἀποδεικνύντων must mean 'denouncing.'

§ 40. περιφθειρομένοις: this use of φθεῖρεσθαι and its compounds in the sense of 'movement to the detriment of oneself or others,' which is ignored

by L. and S., calls for a note. The best examples are Dem. in *Mid.* 139 (p. 560) (φθεῖρεσθαι); Aristoph. *Eccl.* 248 (προσφθαρείς), where see Bekker's note; Lucian, *Pseudol.* 18 (συμπεριφθεῖρον).

§ 45. ὃν οὗτος . . . προσαγορεύων seems to refer to the return of Leocrates from Megara to Athens by the Sacred Way, which was lined with funeral monuments.

§ 65. P. adopts without comment the unnecessary emendation νομίμων, but implies in his note on τεύξεται τῶν νόμων (§ 93) that he has retained the MS. reading νόμων.

§ 80. ὡς ἱχνος (MSS. ἰσχνῶς) does not give very good sense. Of the various other suggestions ἱκανῶς (Coraes) seems the best.

§ 86. P. makes a great difficulty of κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὑποδύντα. For the use of κατὰ cp. κατὰ τὴν πυλίδαν (§ 55). The use of the intransitive and middle tenses of ὑποδύνω in the sense of 'slip out from' is, as P. points out, common in Homer with a genitive; its use without a genitive can be paralleled by Dem. in *Aristogiton.* 28 (p. 778).

§ 88. P. does well to adopt ἀρά γ' (Coraes) for ὁράτε.

§ 100, l. 3. Heinrich's δρώσι, <δρῶσι> δυσγενέστερον seems preferable to Meineke's δρώσι, δυσγενέστερον <λέγω>, which P. adopts;—l. 44. There seems no reason for changing the redundant ἄτερ of the MSS. to ἀνῆρ, which is feeble here.

§ 107, l. 12. οὐδ' αἰδῶς οὐτ' ὀπίσω γένεος: οὐδ' . . . οὐτ' can hardly stand here.

§ 109. ἐκατέροις ἐπιτύμβια is a long way from the MS. ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις τοῦ βίου. It is better to read with Wurm and Blass ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρίοις, and to suppose that τοῦ βίου came in to explain the corrupt ὀρίοις.

§ 112. Does not ἐν τοῖς οἰσίοις mean 'in the basket market' rather than 'in the osier-beds' (P., and L. and S.)? Cp. Aristoph. *Lys.* 557 κὰν ταῖσι χύτραις καὶ τοῖς λαχάνοισιν ὁμοίως.

§ 128. τῆς Χαλκιοίκου: reference might be given to the excavations of this shrine described in *B.S.A.* XIII., pp. 137 ff., and XIV., pp. 142 ff.

EDWARD S. FORSTER.

IRANIANS AND GREEKS IN SOUTH RUSSIA.

Iranians and Greeks in South Russia. By M. ROSTOVITZ. 4to. One vol. Pp. xv+260. With 32 plates; 23 figures in text. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. £4 4s.

UNTIL the publication of Mr. Minns' admirable work in 1913 there was no important book in English dealing with the history and antiquities of South Russia in pre-Russian times. Minns' book is not likely soon to be superseded; according to M. Rostovtzeff 'it will remain for decades the chief source of information about South Russia both for Russian and for non-Russian scholars.' Minns gave a comprehensive survey of the existing materials for the early history of Southern Russia; Rostovtzeff tries to sketch the actual lines of such a history. No one could be better entitled to make such an attempt. He has himself conducted numerous excavations and researches in South Russia, the authorities are familiar to him, and he is known to be one of the most efficient and acute of archaeologists. If the lines of the sketch do not always come out clearly, the main fault rests with the vagueness of the materials.

During the thousand years 600 B.C. to A.D. 400 as to which ancient history informs us, South Russia was a melting-pot in which many nations and tribes fought or coalesced. Thracians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths and Huns came and went. The most durable influences were those of the Greek colonies of the north coast of the Euxine, which, founded by Milesians, greatly affected their more barbarous neighbours, giving them works of Greek art and civilisation in exchange for the corn, hides, tar, wood, and fish, without which the cities of Greece Proper, notably Athens, could never have fed their inhabitants or built their ships. The most curious racial fact is that, according to our author, the Slavs do not appear in South Russia until the end of ancient history, and their origins are quite obscure. And what has become of their predecessors? And of what race were these predecessors? Mr. Rostovtzeff is disposed to regard them

as of Iranian origin; but the word Iranian requires analysis.

The history of South Russia, apart from the scanty notices of Greek historians and geographers, has to be extracted from archaeological material, which is of astonishing richness and abundance. All the races of the region were extremely liberal to their dead, filling their graves with ornaments and vessels of gold, silver, and other materials. Coins are rare; if only the Scythians and Sarmatians had better provided money for the journey to the land of shades, we should have been able to fix dates which in the absence of coins can only be conjectural. We begin with a blaze of glorious works imported from Miletus and Athens, and work through age after age until we reach the jewellery of cloisonné work, adorned with strange figures of animals and monsters, convoluted and intertwined, which seems to have been continued in Gothic and Frankish work.

So long as the tombs belonged to the Scythian neighbours of the Greek colonists, and these acquired from the Greeks the bulk of the equipment of the dead, we are on fairly safe ground. The productions of Greek workmen, whether imported from Ionia and Athens or made on the spot, bear always the inimitable touch of the Greek genius, and can be dated. They present us with vivid and admirable representations of the natives in their wars and hunting, so that these have become quite familiar to our imaginations. They also enlighten us in a measure as to the local religion. According to Rostovtzeff there were two chief deities of wide power, the θεός ὑψιστος or Sabazius, and the great Mother Goddess who exercised a wide sway all round the Euxine. Of the moon-god, who is prominent on the coins of Pontus and Bithynia in the Roman Age, we have little trace.

Until the decay of the Roman Empire, inscriptions and the scanty pages of the historians, aided by numismatic research, give us numerous flashes of light. Rostovtzeff makes all he can of the materials. He has published a

separate paper on the great Queen Dynamis: and he tries in the volume before us to establish the view that the great Mithridates represents, not the last struggle of the Eastern Greeks for freedom, but a strong Iranian revolt, hostile alike to Greece and Rome.

But after the coming of the Goths historic light grows more and more dim; and we are obliged to try to recover history only from the successive styles to be traced in the works of art found in the tombs. Of these styles two are noteworthy. There is the polychrome style, in which precious stones are inlaid in a gold setting, the mingling of colours rather than the outlines of forms giving the effect desired. This cloisonné work is very prominent in all the great finds of East Russia and the Oxus region. There is also the animal style, the main feature of which is the fantastic composition of designs taken from animals and monsters, the latter often of most extravagant type. Rostovtzeff investigates in detail the history of these styles, their interactions and their influence on the art of barbarian Europe. The task is a very complicated one; and it may be doubted whether in any case the investigation leads to history, to the determination of the interactions of Sarmatians, Thracians, Goths, and Mongols. For, as the author himself points out (p. 191), artistic styles may travel on the lines of commercial intercourse as well as in consequence of migration and conquest. Thus the attempt to trace the various developments of these two styles and to determine their local seats is a far more possible problem than to assign any of these developments to particular tribes or nations. The history of decorative art is an easier subject than the political history of peoples. The animal style,

in particular, has developments in many directions, and greatly influenced the rising art of the northern and western nations of Europe, and even of China.

The unravelling of so tangled a skein must needs be a work of extreme difficulty. Rostovtzeff has as fully as anyone the necessary knowledge, and in the present uncertainty as to the future of Russian science, and even of Russia itself, it is most important that his knowledge should be methodically recorded. His merit lies rather in his profound knowledge, based on intimate experience, of his subject than in his ethnographic theories. In fact, in the very fragmentary state of our knowledge of the races of the ancient world, ethnography is more often an *ignis fatuus* than a lamp.

One feature of the book I feel bound to mention, though I do so with regret. The plates, instead of being placed together at the end of the volume, where they would be accessible, are scattered through the volume. There is not even any table to show at what page a particular plate is to be found. In trying to refer from text to plate one loses not only much time, but often even the thread of the work. This defect might easily be remedied in future issues, and it would make a vast difference to the intelligibility of the book.

The price also, four guineas, is excessive: few scholars indeed can afford to buy the work at such a price; and our colleagues on the Continent stand no chance of acquiring it. The Cambridge Press is even more excessive in its prices than the Oxford Press. Unless the great publishers find some way of remedying this disaster the publication of any works except popular novels and school books will soon come to an end.

P. GARDNER.

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM D.N.

Novum Testamentum D.N.I.C. Latine.

Recensuerunt †JOHANNES WORDSWORTH et H. J. WHITE. Partis Secundae Fasciculus Secundus. One vol. 11¼" × 8¾". Pp. 122. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1922.

It is matter of rejoicing for every student of the New Testament text that

the stupendous work planned by Bishop John Wordsworth, of Salisbury, goes on steadily to fulfilment, despite the obstacles brought by the Great War and despite the Bishop's death. No reviewer can hope to appraise what is achieved; many workers for long years will alone be able to test and retest the

value of the work, but one or two remarks may be made. No critical edition of the Vulgate based on any wide collation of MSS. had ever appeared before Dr. Wordsworth set out upon his enterprise. St. Jerome's 'vague generalities' left the editors in ignorance not only as to whether 'he had used old manuscripts, but where they came from, and the dates, and the rest of it' (Watson's *Life of Bishop J. Wordsworth*, p. 152). To-day, with the growing number of parts issued, it is becoming possible to get some glimmering of the net resultant changes in the text of the Vulgate from the modern Clementine text. A few examples may be given from the part just published—the First Epistle to the Corinthians—and anyone who considers can readily judge for himself how this recovered approximation to Jerome's actual text will react on the estimate of the Latin evidence to be made in reconstructing the original Greek text.

In I. 1 we now read *Christi Jesu* for *Jesu Christi*.

In 5 *quia* for *quod*.

In 8 (*usque*) *ad finem* for *in finem*.

In 10 (*in eadem*) *scientia* for *sententia*.

In 11 *inter vos sunt* for *sunt inter vos*.

In 20 *inquisitor* for *conquisitor*.

In XV. 4 *surrexit* for *resurrexit*.

In 5 *post haec* for *post hoc*.

In 21 (*quoniam*) *enim* for *quidem*.

In 23 *in adventu eius* for *qui in adv. ei. crediderunt*.

Although it is true that St. Jerome 'did not, as he ought to have done, retranslate the New Testament,' it is evident that this critical edition of the Vulgate will require many scholars to examine and to re-examine the precise modifications that will now have to be made in our statement of its evidence upon the Greek St. Jerome had before him. Meanwhile we can only be thankful to Dr. White for the astounding labour he is bestowing on his task, and for the perspicuity with which his results are put before us. May he have life and leisure to complete the work, and, we may hope, to issue on the lines of the later parts published the first two, if not three, Gospels. Some day we may see the projected edition which the Benedictines have in hand. Meanwhile this Oxford work remains the only edition of the Vulgate that can serve the needs of scholarship.

T. NICKLIN.

BELOCH'S GREEK HISTORY.

Griechische Geschichte, Vol. III.: Part I.

By K. J. BELOCH. One vol. 9½" × 6".

Pp. xii + 652. Berlin and Leipzig:

De Gruyter, 1922.

THE third volume of the revised edition of Professor Beloch's *History* covers the period 404–330 B.C., and is thus nearly conterminous with Vol. II. of the first issue. According to the general plan of the new edition, the appendices which constitute the principal addition to the old text are relegated to a separate volume; in the present volume the text and footnotes have not undergone any extensive alteration, save for some corrections necessitated by new finds of papyri and inscriptions, and an additional chapter on statistics of population.

In the present volume the reader will find all the characteristic merits of Professor Beloch's work. Its narrative is clear and terse, and speeds to its goal unencumbered with erudite ballast. Its

outlook extends far beyond the forum and the battlefield, and the real makers of Greece, her artists and men of letters and science, receive something like their fair share of attention. Above all, its judgments, while keeping free from paradox, are refreshingly original.

As is but natural in a work of this scope, a number of Professor Beloch's statements evoke a query. In the face of Isocrates' assertions to the contrary is it safe to say that Sparta's dominion was 'far less oppressive' than that of Athens (p. 61)? Is there any evidence that Lysander ever contemplated disinterested social reform in the manner of Cleomenes III. (p. 26)? After M. Cloché's careful investigations on the subject, can it still be maintained that the restored Athenian democracy was intolerant towards the more moderate adherents of the Thirty (p. 65)? Can we label the Oxyrhynchus

historian 'Cratippus' without adding a question mark (p. 47 n.), or call Philip of Macedon 'well-bred' without any qualification (p. 474)? Is not the statement that 'nothing impresses Orientals except force' based on a very superficial survey of the facts (p. 640)?

In the excellent chapter on economics the author accepts too readily the view that industrial slavery was not only common but more productive than free labour (p. 321). Mr. Heitland's careful investigations on this point leave it, to say the least, an open question. The statement that the trading capital of fourth-century banks consisted chiefly of deposits (p. 333) is not borne out in the case of Pasion's firm: out of its total loan fund of 50 talents, only 11 talents proceeded from the bank's customers (*Pro Phorm.* § 5).

The date which Professor Beloch proposes for the mysterious coinage inscribed with 'ΣΤΝ,' viz. 386 B.C. (p. 95 n.), avoids some of the difficulties of the accepted chronology. But we may doubt whether the Persian satraps allowed their new Greek subjects time to form a League of Liberty.

On p. 651 a plain error of fact has slipped in: the consecration of the plain of Crisa took place, not 150, but

250 years before the celebrated debate between Aeschines and the Thebans.

But these cavils are nothing more than an exhibition of a reviewer's *cacoethes corrigendi*; and the present reviewer hastens to add that the independent line which Professor Beloch has taken against established conventions is precisely what the history of the fourth century most requires. Professor Beloch has performed a timely service in telling us that Epaminondas and Demosthenes were not quite the heroes, nor Dionysius and Philip quite the villains that we have been taught to believe in; that Athenian 'pacifism' was a sign of progress rather than of decay; that Persia was a mere obstacle to the world's civilisation. Above all, we must thank him for protesting against the traditional opinion that the Peloponnesian War finally ruined Greece, and for insisting that the fourth century was the true climax in the all-round development of Greek culture. These heresies may or may not some day become consecrated truths; in any case, they badly needed to be set forth. Whatever measure of assent Professor Beloch's conclusions may command, they ought at any rate to rouse our interest and set us thinking.

M. CARY.

DE ROMANORUM PIACULIS.

De Romanorum Piaculis. By S. P. C. TROMP, S.J. One vol. Large 8vo. Pp viii+158. Leyden: G. F. Théonville, 1921.

THIS is a very thorough and interesting piece of work in a rather obscure but important corner of Roman religion. The author's object is to establish the exact character and purpose of the *piaculum* and to distinguish it from kindred rites, such as *lustratio* and *procuratio prodigiorum*, which in some respects it resembles, and with which it has often been confused both in antiquity and by modern writers. He starts with an exhaustive inquiry into the meaning of *piaculum* and kindred words, and finds that in all cases the original sense is that of 'placation,' the establishment of *pietas*, mutual benevolence and affection between man and deity, especially when that has been broken by some human act. It is only as a derivative from this meaning that it seems sometimes to convey a sense of purgation.

The second and main section of the book is an examination of the different forms of *piacula* which were undertaken for violations of the divine law, whether committed unintentionally or intentionally under constraint or necessity,

as, for instance, when the Fratres Arvales had to bring an iron tool into the grove of the Dea Dia (which no iron might enter) for the purpose of engraving the acts of the year on the temple wall. For violations of the sacred law committed *dolo malo* there could be no expiation, and the culprit became *impius*. This section contains incidentally some extremely interesting explanations of obscure rites, such as that of the *hostia succidanea*, a *piaculum* for unintentional offences committed in the course of a sacred ceremony, the *hostia praecidanea*, an anticipatory *piaculum*, and the *piacula* connected with the *spolia opima*. Its conclusion is again that the object of the *piaculum* is always placation.

The third and final section is in some ways the most interesting. It traces the origin of the *piaculum*, not, as has been suggested, to a general idea of *tabu*, but to the natural *δεισιδαιμονία* of the Roman, which causes him to fear at any moment that he may be offending some deity, and therefore to do all he can to recover his favour. The *piaculum* is thus distinguished on the one hand from the *lustratio*, which is either purificatory or apotropaic, and therefore essentially magic and not religious, for it does

not—in origin at least—recognise the existence of divine beings; and on the other from the *procuratio* of prodigies, which are the manifestation of divine anger for some unrecognised offence, whereas the delinquency expiated by the *piaculum* is always known. A brief conclusion points out the essential difference between the strains of magic and religion in primitive thought and practice, and traces the religious decline of Rome to the loss of the real sense of dependence on a divine power.

The argument of the dissertation appears to me almost always sound, though I have some doubts as to the subtle argument on p. 119 that the *obligatio* of the *piaculum* arises, not from the nature of the act of violation, but from the written (or unwritten) divine law; and Dr. Tromp has certainly collected in a small com-

pass an amazing amount of important evidence and dissected it with great judgment. The book should be of real use as a foundation for the study of the elements of magic or religion in early Roman ritual, and also because it makes one realise how large a place these minor rites of *piacula* and *lustrationes* must have taken in the thought of the average Roman. We are apt to think of Roman religion as consisting in the great annual festivals; it is well that we should realise that they were not everything, even if we cannot quite agree with Dr. Tromp's dictum: '*cultus Romanorum atque religio in piaculis, lustrationibus, prodigiorum procurationibus maxime continetur, quae si quis bene intellexerit, est cur iure gloriatur se Romanorum religionem melius perspexisse.*'

C. BAILEY.

THE PERVIGILUM VENERIS IN QUATRAINS.

The Pervigilum Veneris in Quatrains. By J. A. FORT, formerly Second Master at Winchester College. With Preface by J. W. MACKAIL. One vol. 8vo. Pp. 44. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1922. 3s. 6d. net.

MR. FORT has deserved well of the republic of letters in preparing this handy edition of one of the sweetest and most romantic poems in all Latin literature. At once compact and scholarly, it contains an introduction discussing in admirably brief compass the main problems which encircle the *Pervigilum*, and which, by leaving so much still to doubtful surmise, add a tantalising interest to its intrinsic fascination. The text follows, then adequate notes; and a well-conceived appendix illustrates the range of the trochaic line in its literary and popular form. Extracts from Annianus Florus, Tiberianus, and Prudentius are carefully commented on.

Mr. Fort accepts Dr. Mackail's theory that the work was composed in quatrains, and he is therefore obliged to assume *lacunae* and dislocations in the two existing manuscripts. He considers there are five separate gaps of single lines, which he supplies by two lines of Dr. Mackail's composition and three of his own. In his text these are indicated by italics, as are all other departures from the MSS. Six lines altogether have been placed in a position different from that in the MSS.—viz. l. 58, which becomes l. 40; and ll. 9-12, which become five lines, 63-67, owing to the emendation and expansion of the textually difficult ninth line. Nine repetitions of the familiar '*Cras amet qui numquam amavit*,' etc., are included, but in brackets, because the editor believes the refrain belonged to the piece only when it was to be sung.

Mr. Fort's suggestions have the merit of constructing or reconstructing an orderly poem with a simpler arrangement than that advo-

cated in the valuable edition of Mr. Clementi and by others who have believed in an original strophic plan; but there can be, on the evidence available, no finality, and the puzzling afterthought haunts one: 'Why and how did a straightforward scheme of quatrains ever become so woefully tangled?'

Date and authorship equally defy absolute determination. The poem is Apuleian in style, and so may be of the second century; or it may be of the fourth, for it certainly recalls Tiberianus in its almost entire avoidance of quadrisyllabic endings. Of the editor's emendations there is plausibility in *punicans* (a word from Apuleius) for *unica* in the vexed l. 26; but in l. 66 the alteration of *pervium* to *pervial* (an all but non-existent verb) seems hazardous, and either involves or is involved by the conjecture of a missing line and a change of grammatical construction.

In the notes, l. 49, *stare floribus* is unpoetically translated 'to be thick with flowers,' which I do not take to be the meaning of *stare* in the Vergilian parallels cited (*Aen.* VI. 300 *stant lumina flamma*, if that is the reading; and XII. 408 *pulvere stare caelum*, where the verb suggests to me 'is pillared'). In l. 2 the conjecture *ver renatus orbis est* is not in the first instance Dr. Mackail's. Mr. S. G. Owen referred it to Wernsdorf; but it really belongs to Justus Lipsius, who, in fact, was rather proud of it, for he introduces it with the words '*nec male ego*' after commending *vere natus orbis est* as an elegant proposal by Pithoeus. It would have been well also to credit Lipsius in lines 14 and 15 with *turgescentes* for *surgentes*, and *repentes* for the *penates* of S and the *penties* of T. On p. 41 the birthplace of Apuleius should be *Madaura*, not *Madura*, though that was the form in at least one of the older editions of Smith's Classical Dictionaries, since corrected.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

THE last work undertaken by the late C. E. Freeman was *Scenes from the Trojan War* (Oxford Press, 3s.), passages chosen from the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the *Rhesus*, and the *Trojan Women*. It follows somewhat on the lines of Sidgwick's Rugby editions, of Greek plays, though the notes are a good deal fuller, and a vocabulary has been given. The volume has been tried at Winchester with good results. Coming from the pen of so practised a teacher and so exact a scholar as Mr. Freeman, this little volume bears marks of good sense and thoroughness, and is so arranged that it can readily be worked through in a term.

Mr. Walter Madeley has been encouraged, by the reception given to his *Noctes Latinae*, to prepare a second volume on similar lines. A boy who works through the seven stories contained in *Noctes Latinae alterae* (Macmillan, 2s.) will get a tolerably good notion of the public and private life of the Romans in many of its departments. Seneca, Phaedrus, Apuleius, Plautus, Cicero, have been utilised in preparing these stories, which are attractively told. The volume is supplied with brief but sufficient notes, and there is the usual vocabulary.

Ludi Persici, by R. B. Appleton (Oxford Press, 2s. 6d. net), consists of original plays, the object of which is 'to improve the teaching of Latin in the lower forms of schools by making the Latin lessons more interesting.' They are primarily intended for those who employ what is known as the 'direct' method of teaching. There are no notes and no vocabulary.

Selections from the Georgics, edited by J. Masson, M.A., LL.D. (Cambridge University Press, 4s.), is an excellent piece of work, far superior in every way to the usual run of annotated texts. The introduction is admirable, and scholars as well as students will find much to interest them in the course of the fifty odd pages. The same thing may be said of the notes. A book of this kind, however, required no vocabulary, which is, indeed, out of place here, for the book is not intended for beginners.

Of Latin 'anthologies,' volumes of selections, and the like, we already have abundance; and the appearance of a new 'collection' excites but a languid interest. Mr. A. B. Poynton's *Flosculi Latini* (Oxford University Press, 5s.) is quite good of its kind, but it presents no features of special importance. In the final section of the book Mr. Poynton gives a brief

selection from later Latin; thus, we have a piece of Bede, a fragment of Erasmus, and a celebrated bit from the preface to Bentley's Horace. Mr. Poynton might have gone much further afield, and given us many an interesting passage from Jerome, Ambrose, Lactantius, Augustine—to say nothing of Boethius, John of Salisbury, and Politian.

Professor H. E. Butler's selection from the 'Cupid and Psyche' episode in *Apuleius* is a delightful little book. Partly in the original, partly in translation, this edition follows the method of the new Oxford Series of School Classics. Brief notes and a vocabulary have been added. The translation is Professor Butler's own, and is doubtless all it should be; but personally I should prefer to have had the old sixteenth-century version by William Adlington. This book deserves a cordial welcome from schoolmasters who desire to import a little novelty and fresh interest into their Latin curriculum.

Mr. A. H. Irvine, a Charterhouse master, is to be congratulated on his *KTHMA EZ AEI* (A. C. Curtis; sold also by Humphrey Milford: London, 1922)—a book of extracts from Greek and Latin poets, intended to be committed to memory. The old practice of learning classical pieces by heart is rapidly falling, we regret to say, into disuse; yet it afforded a most valuable discipline. Something was done to popularise the old method in Mr. E. H. C. Smith's *Select Passages* (1888). Both his and Mr. Irvine's books exhibit verse translations on the pages facing the text: a good plan, as it enables beginners to see something of the beauty of the original, and to appreciate the charm of a good rendering. We are not convinced that prose renderings would not be preferable; and in the case of the Virgil extracts, such renderings are actually taken from Mackail's version. 'O Fons Bandusiae' does not come off as well as might be expected, even though the version is Calverley's; and I am frankly disappointed with Murray's translation of *Agam.* 636-680; the rimed verse does not seem to suit Aeschylus. The versions of Lord Carnarvon, Morshead, and Lewis Campbell appear better. But one must not dogmatise: *alii alia sentiunt*. What could have induced Mr. Irvine to substitute Headlam for Cory in the rendering of Callimachus' famous epigram?

E. H. BLAKENEY.

THE GOLDEN BOUGH.

The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion. Abridged edition. By Sir J. G. FRAZER. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xvi + 756, with Frontispiece. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1922. 18s. net

'THE GOLDEN BOUGH,' originally in two volumes, was considerably recast

when it reappeared as three, and finally became twelve in the third edition, which, retaining much the same theoretical outlook as the second, abounds to overflowing with fresh citations of fact. The scholar will always turn to this encyclopaedic work when detailed proofs have to be weighed and informa-

tion tracked to its sources. Nay, the references that it contains amount by themselves to a liberal education as regards the many curious byways of anthropological research. On the other hand, the reading public can well do without such an *apparatus criticus*; and, indeed, could hardly be expected to find its way through a multitude of examples which, for any but the patient-minded, tend to obstruct rather than to assist the apprehension of the principles illustrated. Let it in fairness be said, however, that Sir James Frazer of deliberate intent supplied unlimited bread with the sack. The apparent superfluity of evidential matter was due to no lack of artistry, for he is among the best writers of the day. But, feeling surer of his facts than of his or any other man's theories, he sought to build strong foundations for the science of which he is one of the great pioneers. The honourable tradition of British anthropology, whether expounded by a Tylor or by a Frazer, has always been to let

the facts crystallise as it were of themselves into the appropriate generalisations. Meanwhile, Sir James Frazer can look back with some pride on the fate of such hypotheses as he has at one time or another ventured to put forth. On the whole they have stood the test of time; and only a cynic, who was also a bit of an ignoramus, would suppose that, when the anthropological field-worker independently confirms the theories of the anthropologist of the study, he is merely seeing everything green because the other has provided him with spectacles of that colour. For the rest, it must have cost the author no little effort and searching of heart to lighten the cargo by casting so many of his precious illustrations overboard. As it is, however, the smaller vessel, heavily freighted though even now it be, will make an excellent pleasure-craft for landmen as well as a suitable training-ship for those who propose one day to become blue-water sailors in the service of science. R. R. MARETT.

BOTSFORD'S HELLENIC HISTORY.

Hellenic History. By G. W. BOTSFORD.

One vol. 8vo. Pp. iii+520, 24 full-page illustrations, 38 in text. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. 18s. net.

THERE are, it seems, two ways of writing a short, popular history. One is that adopted, for example, by Cavaignac, of giving but a brief account of the leading features of the period and combining this with a detailed discussion of certain difficulties in appendices. This has the disadvantage of making the facts of history appear simpler than they really are; but it has the advantage that the main lines of evolution can be clearly emphasised, and the difficulties of historical problems are not hidden. The other method is to give a concise account of as many facts as possible. This gives some idea of the complexity of events, but the main features will probably be lost in the multitude of details, and the student will get no idea of the complexity and difficulty of the problems. It is the second method, in all its purity, that

the late Dr. Botsford has followed in this his last work, and with great success. In a volume of 500 shortish pages he has given us a treatment not only of political and military events, but of Greek literature, science and philosophy, of social life, and of agricultural, industrial, and commercial changes—from early Minoan times to the Hellenistic kingdoms. To this he has added references to the original authorities throughout; and a brief bibliography (called 'Additional Reading') at the end of each chapter. It is Busolt boiled down, with all the discussions of difficult problems left out. That is the disadvantage: a student would learn a great deal from this book, but not that there are many uncertainties and difficulties facing all historians of Greece. The mere reference, for instance, to the Rylands Papyri, Nicolaus, Herodotus, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius, in an account of the tyrannies of Corinth and Sicyon (p. 75, n. 14), does not really help much. Moreover, the multitude and most tight compres-

sion of the facts hinders rather the 'effort to combine political, economic, and cultural history in one synthesis.' The style and treatment are alike pedestrian; important figures and movements are not sufficiently defined; and the poets and philosophers, as will be guessed, suffer the most. Yet the book 'is intended primarily as a textbook for college courses'; and it would serve this purpose most admirably in the hands of a teacher of imagination; he

would have much to add in the way both of explanation of authorities and interpretation of events, and very little in the way of facts—though, curiously enough, he would have to introduce his pupils to Menander. Dr. Botsford's is the best short history of Greece, of its kind, that the writer knows; he has achieved what he mainly set out to do. It is a pity that there are several misprints in the book, particularly in the references (there is one to p. 000).

A. W. GOMME.

THE CORPUS GLOSSARY.

The Corpus Glossary. Edited by W. M. LINDSAY, F.B.A., with an Anglo-Saxon Index by HELEN MCM. BUCKHURST. One vol. Pp. xvi+292. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1921. 40s. net.

The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt, and Leyden Glossaries. By W. M. LINDSAY, F.B.A. Pp. 122. Publications of the Philological Society. Oxford University Press, 1921. 15s. net.

The first of these volumes is, among other things, an edition of the earliest Latin-English dictionary that has come down to us. It contains some 8,500 lemmata, of which about one-third are glossed by Old English (Anglo-Saxon) words, the remainder having (or intended to have) Latin glosses. The MS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 144, in which the glossary is preserved, was first publicly noticed by Wanley, whose ascription of it to the eighth century has been corroborated by modern scholarship. In 1873 Thomas Wright published those parts of it that contain English glosses, in the second volume of his *Vocabularies*. The same selection was made by Sweet for his volume of *Old English Texts* (1885), where he exhibited the relation of the Corpus, Épinal, and Erfurt glossaries by an arrangement in parallel columns and by cross-references, and so laid down a preliminary basis for the critical study of these glossaries together with that of Leyden. In 1890 there appeared the first edition (not in Professor Lindsay's restricted sense of this word) of the whole glossary, prepared by J. H. Hessels for the Cambridge Press. This, an accurate apograph, remains indispensable for the student of Mediaeval Latin or of Old English, for whom it is necessary to ascertain immediately the reading of the MS. It is remarkable, however, that discrepancies between the several editions occur which still leave us in some uncertainty as to the reading; thus the gloss upon the lemma *Anus* (A 646) is, according to Hessels, written *alduuif*; but Wright and Sweet agree in reading *ald uuif*, while the present editor prints *ald uuif*, which is surely a slip; again, *s.v. In dies crudesceat* (I 195) Wright and Hessels agree in reading *aforht*, but Sweet and Professor Lindsay have *a forht*.

Sweet was of course mainly concerned with the identification and interpretation of the

Anglo-Saxon glosses, but he made a large contribution towards the elucidation of the processes by which the vocabulary—that is, the series of Latin lemmata—arrived at the form which the Corpus MS. presents. The tracing of the sources of the lemmata is the motive of Professor Lindsay's edition of the Glossary; the principles which have guided him in his ascriptions are expounded with a wealth of detail in the Philological Society volume, which serves as prolegomena to the edition, and individual instances are further annotated in the commentary with which the latter is provided in addition to the copious footnote apparatus.

The state in which Sweet left the problem of sources may be gathered from a few salient sentences in his introduction to *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 6 ff. 'The ultimate sources of a portion, at least, of these glossaries must be sought in interlinear and marginal glosses in Latin books. It is only on this supposition that we can explain the frequent appearance of nouns and adjectives in oblique cases, and different tenses, etc., of verbs. . . . It is easy to trace some of these latter back to their literary sources. . . . Owing to defective word-division and the occasional necessary division at the end of a line in the prototype . . . it often happens that words are given in a truncated form. Thus under *c* we find *corax*=*nycticorax*. . . . A fruitful source of corruption is running two glosses into one. . . . A natural result of compiling glosses from various sources is that the same gloss is often repeated. . . . It is evident that the glossaries were not compiled from literary sources alone; the purely colloquial half-Romance forms of many of the Latin words . . . the number of technical words . . . coming together in groups even in the alphabetical glossaries cannot well have been taken out of ordinary books. In L[eiden] the latter class of words are thrown together under the headings *Verba de multis* and *Item alia*, and are evidently taken directly from class-glossaries.' Then he treats of the relation of the English glosses to the Latin, and selects as an example of development by addition of an Anglo-Saxon to a corrupted Latin gloss the sequence *apricitas : calor > apricitas : color > apricitas : color : hio* [*i.e.* hew]—an example which Professor Lindsay himself makes use of

in his volume of prolegomena (p. 88), where he is able to add the information that the item is originally an Abstrusa item. Sweet also gave an example (p. 14) of the affinity in gloss-order between Leyden and Épinal-Erfurt; it is a slight exposition, but, even so, it seems to make Professor Lindsay's statement too severe when he says that 'the presence of batches (corresponding to the sections of Leid.) in the Épinal and Erfurt glossaries was not detected' (Preface to Philol. Soc. volume).

To provide a summary of the researches subsequent to Sweet's adumbration of the problems is a task that would make excessive demands upon time and space. The student must betake himself to Professor Lindsay's own exposition, where the Latinist, the student of Romance or of Old English, the lexicographer, and those interested in unravelling linguistic tangles, will all find their *affaire*. And here it is time to say that a competent review of the works before us is beyond the powers of any who do not combine the qualifications of the editor himself, and of the collaborator whose name he contends should appear upon his title-page, Dr. Henry Bradley. But it is hoped that nothing impertinent may be found in the following remarks, and that they may even turn out to be of some use.

It has been seen above that the element of the class-glossary in the formation of the Corpus and other glossaries was emphasised by Sweet. For the construction of such class-lists we may suppose that a compiler would readily seize upon such a catalogue as that of the unclean beasts in Leviticus 11. 13-19, 22, 29, 30. This catalogue we actually find represented in the Corpus Glossary by *alietum*, *atticus*, *bubo*, *caradrion*, *gripem*, *larus*, *locusta*, *mergulus*, *megale*, *milvus*, *mus*, *mustela*, *noctua*, *stilio*, *strutio*, *talpa*, *vespertilio*. Some of these Professor Lindsay has unhesitatingly given to the passage mentioned, and others he has assigned to it with a query. It is probable that they should all be so assigned, in spite of the fact that the Glossary does not always exhibit the case-form of the Vulgate; and *bruchus*, which occurs twice in the Glossary proper, as well as once in the *Interpretatio*, may owe its duplication to two Bible passages, Levit. 11. 22 and 2 Paralip. 6. 28. The consideration of these probabilities or possibilities is prompted by a comparison with the items of one of the Reichenau glossaries,¹ MS. Karlsruhe 86, which are taken from the Vulgate and almost entirely from the Old Testament. There are some remarkable correspondences, the mention of some of which will be sufficient to show that the Corpus and this Reichenau glossary are in some way connected, whatever may be the precise degree of relationship.

To begin with words contained in Leviticus 11, we notice:

Corpus N 145: *Noctua* : *naehtraefn* [*i.e.* 'night raven.']

Karlsruhe 62²: *Noctua* : *coruus nocturnus* vel *cauannus*.

¹ See *Germania*, Vol. VIII., and Foerster and Koschwitz, *Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch*.

² Foerster and Koschwitz's numbering.

(It is interesting to find that Professor Lindsay conjectures that 'cavannus' is perhaps disguised in the form of 'Cicuanus' in C 438 of Corpus.)

Corpus S 554: *Stilio* : *hraeðemuus* [*i.e.* bat].

U 105: *Vespertilio* : *hraeðemuus*.

Karlsruhe 68: *Stilio* . *uespertilio*, id est *calua suricis* [*i.e.* bat; French 'chauve souris'].

Professor Lindsay quotes items from other sources that are parallel to the latter form. He maintains that 'stellio' and 'vespertilio' were confusedly coupled together because they occur in an annotated list of nouns in *-io* in Phocas; but may they not with equal probability have been confused on account of their common ending *-tilio* by an excerptor of Leviticus 11?

To pass to other kinds of entries, we find:

Corpus F 374: *Furbum* : *bruun*.

Karlsruhe 17: *Furuum* : *brunus* [with Genesis 30. 32 as the source].

Corpus A 839: *Aspaltum* : *spaldur*.

Karlsruhe 140: *asfaltum* : *spalor* [Sirach 24. 20].

Corpus C 182: *Vicium* : *fugles bean*.

Karlsruhe 150: *uicium pisas egrestes* . i. *fugles bean** [Isaiah 28. 25].

Corpus F 366: <In> *frunitae* : *ineffrenatae*.

Karlsruhe 139: *Infrunite* : *effrenate* [Sirach 23. 6].

It seems not improbable that the following are ultimately related:

Corpus A 518: *Amata* : *catenata* : *ab eo quod sunt amici* (? for *hami* [editor]).

Karlsruhe 119: *Lurica humata* : *catena*.

The Vulgate reference is 1 Reg. 17. 5, where we read 'lorica squamata.' Was the original entry

Lorica squamata . i. *hamata* . i. *catenata*,

of which Corpus has preserved only the last two words?

Further comparisons may be made with the same glossary, either supporting Professor Lindsay in some of his hesitating attributions to places in the Vulgate, or suggesting some that he has not made: *Accola* (Lev. 18. 27), *Aruina* (Exod. 29. 22), *Aucupium* (Lev. 17. 13), *Bidellium* (Gen. 2. 12), *Bitumen* (*ib.* 6. 14), *Capria* (Deut. 12. 15), *Chorela* (Sirach 31. 23), *Clibanus* (Lev. 11. 33), *Contos* (Amos 4. 2), *Dextralia* (Exod. 35. 22), *Dromidarius* (Isa. 60. 6), *Epistelia* (2 Paralip. 4. 12), *Fornicem* 1 Reg. 15. 12), *Ganniret* (Isa. 10. 14), *Lumbare* (Jer. 13. 1), *Noverca* (Lev. 20. 11), *Stipes* (Num. 8. 4), *Surum* (Judic. 15. 8), *Teretrum* (Isa. 3. 23), *Vitalia* (Exod. 29. 22).

Professor Lindsay warns us against a too facile resort to the Vulgate as a source, but it is tempting to hazard the following conjectures: *Isa.* 28. 25 and 27 yielded *Git*, *Milium*, *Vicium* (=am); *Adnive*=*Adhibe* (Matt. 18. 16), *Altilia* (Matt. 22. 4), *Balteum* (Lev. 8. 7. 13), *Canis-*

* Leyden has an almost identical item.

trum (Lev. 8. 26), Cacumen (Gen. 28. 12), Conclavis (2 Reg. 4. 7), Geniminae (Prov. 8. 19), Norma (3 Reg. 7. 9), Parabsidēs (Matt. 33. 25), Renunculus = os (Lev. 7. 4, 10), Rumigat for Ruminat (Lev. 11. 3). The ascription of Arc <h> itriclinium to Joan. 2. 9 can hardly be questioned, and Sciphes must surely be referred to Exod. 8. 16.

A few curiosities in conclusion. The Corpus Glossary (S 121) has :

Scalprum : latum ferrum in ima parte sine manubrio.

The Leyden Glossary has :

Scalpellum : ferrum est . quod habent scriptores unde incidunt cartas et pennas . acuent ex altera parte latum sicut graphium.

MS. Paris 2685 (*Germania*, vol. viii. p. 389), not noticed by Professor Lindsay, has :

Scalpeum ferrum est quod habent scriptores unde incidunt cartas et pennas acutent altera parte latum sicut graffus.

The Corpus Glossary (T 357) reads :

Typsonas faciunt de ordeo decorticant ipsa grana in pilo, id est in ligno cavato, deinde coquentur in quo volunt. [Prov. 27. 22 Ed.].

MS. Paris 2685 :

Tipsinas faciunt de ordeo decorticant ipsa grana in pila . i. in cauetoligno deinde quoquent in quo uolunt [2 Reg. 17. 19].

Cf. further Corpus P 841 'Ptysones <feriente> : berecorn beorende'; and Kentish Glosses (Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Part II. p. 172) 'quasi tipsonas, swa berecorn' [Prov. 27. 22].

Interesting questions of filiation are raised by these items.

The mysterious word 'agga' glossed 'circa' (A 388) occurs also, it should be noted, in the *Affatim Glossary*, and is transferred thence in the form 'aga' to the tenth-century MS. Berne 224 (see Foerster and Koschwitz, p. 38).

The following corrections and additions are suggested :

On B 75, the French form is not *belece* but *beloce* (our English 'bullace') from a Latin **bullucea*. On G 100, the Italian word is *ghinghero* not *ghingero*, and it is used in the plural. On T 139, Italian *zia* might with advantage have been referred to. In G 253 an asterisk should be inserted before *sinfulle*.

C. T. ONIONS.

CUMONT IN ENGLISH.

After Life in Roman Paganism. By FRANZ CUMONT. One vol. 6" x 9". Pp. xv + 225. Milford, for the Yale University Press, London, 1922. 15s.

ANYONE who is at all interested in the life and thought of classical antiquity, or in the ideas of the society in which Christianity first appeared, will naturally hasten to procure and read a new book by Professor Cumont dealing with a field in which he has made himself a master. These lectures claim only to be a general outline of the subject, but it is an outline firmly drawn by one who really knows the detail, and the simplicity of the presentation is the product not of journalistic aptitude fortified by ignorance of the difficulties of the subject, which is the most usual source of clear but misleading accounts of intricate matters, but of a knowledge so complete that the selection of themes and illustrative material is made with a sure artistry. A word of tribute, too, must be paid to Miss Helen Douglas, who is at least in part responsible for the admirably graceful English version which is in itself a pleasure to read.

The book may be recommended alike to the general reader and the

specialist. The former will find in it a lucid, intelligible, and authoritative account of the ideas of later paganism about an after life, the latter, the more he has occupied himself with this particular and intricate field of study, the more he is likely to admire and profit from the profound knowledge which lies behind an apparently facile exposition. Not the least valuable part of the book is the historical introduction, which sketches with admirable lucidity the background of philosophical influences from the scepticism of the Peripatetics to the mysticism of neo-Platonism. An especial emphasis is laid upon the importance of Posidonius' combination of stoicism with neo-Pythagorism and, for Cumont adheres to the position adopted in his *Astrology and Religion*, with Oriental Syrian elements. Though Cumont is probably on the side of the Germans rather than on that of Mr. Bevan (*Stoics and Sceptics*, Lecture III.), it is immaterial to the soundness of his point whether Posidonius be interpreted in this context to mean the lost writings of a particular individual philosopher, or the philosophic point of view of the generation of which this individual was the most

distinguished representative. Throughout the book the influence of contemporary physics and cosmography in moulding popular belief is brought out with great skill and knowledge, and the path through the jungle of voluminous and complicated material is blazed with enviable ease.

Of course there are details about which a captious reader might differ. On p. 23 a greater historical value is attributed by implication to Philostratus' account of Apollonius than, with Phillimore, I should be prepared to admit, and the interview with Domitian must surely be apocryphal. Room might have been found for the eagle of Peregrinus on p. 159. Divination by the crystal or mirror was not originally a necromantic method as is implied on p. 166, though one of its varieties acquired this character in later classical antiquity. I regret that in two passages Cumont has lent the authority of his name to perpetuate Lawson's theory that the modern Greek *vrykolakas* is a survival from classical antiquity. The evidence for this theory does not in fact bear examination.

I cannot help feeling that upon all religious questions earlier than the first century B.C. the generalisations are made with a less certain touch, indeed that many of them are questionable and possibly misleading. The first lecture upon life in the tomb is consequently the least satisfactory. The real difficulty in finding any evidence for an early and native Roman belief in *individual* personal survival is ignored.

To speak of early Roman funerary ceremonies as cult is to beg a difficult

question, and the hut urns—utensils of cremation, be it noted, not of burial—are not by themselves convincing proof that the early Romans believed in the residence of an individual spirit of a dead man in the tomb. Again, I do not think that there is any evidence that libation holes in tombstones (p. 50) preceded Greek influence in Italy, or that gladiatorial fights at funerals (p. 51) were of native Roman origin. More than once the phrase 'among the Greeks, as among the Romans,' introduces the mention of a practice which was derivative, not parallel. An unfortunate phrase on p. 60 may suggest to the uninitiated that *genius* had a ghostly origin, and it should have been indicated that 'the probability that the cult of the Lares had its foundation in ancestor worship' (p. 61) has been rejected both by Warde Fowler and by Wissowa as a mistaken theory invented by Varro. That 'among the Greeks of the most ancient period' (p. 92) Hecate was goddess of the moon and of the dead may be questioned (Farnell, *Cults*, II., p. 509). I am a little sceptical of the suggestion that remorse for the practice of the exposure of infants was responsible for the peculiar terror attaching to infantile ghosts (p. 129).

These carpings, it will be noticed, refer mainly to matters lying outside the period with which the book principally deals. They may be worth recording, because the deservedly great authority of Professor Cumont's name is likely to give these *obiter dicta* an authenticity to which upon their merits they are not entitled.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

(*P. Vergili Maronis*) *Epigrammata et Priapea*.
Édition critique et explicative. Par Edouard Galletier. Paris: Hachette, 1920. 8vo.
Pp. xvi + 229. 10 francs.

THE so-called *Appendix Vergiliana* has been of late the object of a disproportionate attention which the *Catalepton* has not escaped. To this curious little collection 'of 271 verses,' M. Galletier has devoted a volume of over 240 octavo pages, of which the bibliography, useful and full though not quite complete, takes 10, the introduction 78, the text with apparatus criticus 18, the critical notes 33, and the commentary 94. This book, which is easily and pleasantly written, has the merits of a 'Variorum' edition; the student will find in it most,

if not all, of what has been said (often to little purpose) on the 3 *Priapea* and the 16 *Epigrammata*. His text is in general neither appreciably better nor worse than other current ones; his emendations, as 'lituos' for the 'solitos' of the inferior MSS. in ix. 43 and 'inuictum' for 'multum' *ib.* 29, are unconvincing. But his apprehension of metre is defective. In *Priap.* ii. he breaks away from the general consensus of scholars and prints three lines in which resolved feet violate the canons of the pure iambic: these faults he imputes to the author of the poem. In the Epode (*Epigr.* xiii.), while altering the order of words in 25 to obtain a caesura, he leaves 'doctē' (adverb) to make a spondee in the fourth

place in 31. How he would scan his reading of 35 'Cinaede Lucci, iam tibi liquerunt (supposed to be the perfect of *liquesco*) opes' he does not explain. He finds no difficulty in the hiatuses of *Epigr.* xiii. 6 and xiv. 9. 'Priapi' which he accepts in *Priap.* iii. 20 for 'Priapus' seems unquestionably right, and 'iucundius' in *Epigr.* iv. 9 (given without any note of its origin) is at least more apt and usual than the vulgate 'iucundior.' But the 'Centaurum' of Birt's emendation in *Epigr.* xi. 2 (improved by Mr. Garrod), is ascribed to an obsession. The Commentary and Introduction produce a more favourable impression. Though not greatly original or profound, they are for the most part sober and judicious. M. Galletier, unlike some recent critics, believes that the bulk of the pieces in the collection have been falsely assigned to Vergil. That they are not 'Vergilian,' if referred to the standards of the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, or *Aeneid*, anyone can see; and M. Galletier very properly insists on the extent to which the author has been influenced by Catullus (ch. iv. of his Introduction). Even Th. Birt, a stalwart champion of the Vergilian authorship, has thrown the verses on Messalla (*Epigr.* ix.) to the wolves. But no certainty is obtainable. Quintilian doubtless recognises the epigram on Cimber (ii.) as Vergil's. But it does not follow that he knew it from this collection. If we could ascertain who wrote the four lines in which the *Catalepton* are assigned to Vergil, we should have something to start from. But we cannot, and M. Galletier (following Vollmer) would have it that they are the work of a late grammarian, such as those who composed the tetrasticha on Vergil in Baehrens' *P.L.M.* iv. p. 130. They seem to me distinctly better than these; but this is not a matter for argument. In judging the internal evidence we labour under another disadvantage. For the rest of the *Appendix Vergiliana* we have something authentic to compare them with. We can thus judge if the hexameters of the *Culex* contain 'diuini elementa poetae.' But how the real Vergil would have disported himself in elegiacs, scazons, and epodes we have no means of telling.

J. P. POSTGATE.

ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ: *Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft.* Herausgegeben von FRANZ BOLL. Heft 7: *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie.* Von FRANZ DORNSEIFF, Privatdozent an der Universität Basel. One vol. 8vo. Pp. ii+177. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1922. Price, June, 1922, 10 Sch., geb. 12.50, but 'Preisänderung vorbehalten.'

IN this treatise are set forth and discussed the various uses of the letters of the alphabet as symbols of divine or cosmic forces, and the applications of this symbolism in 'occult' lore. The writer deals chiefly with the Greek alphabet, and the uses of it 'in mystic and magic' in the Hellenistic period and under the Roman empire; but he gives some attention also to similar practices among Jews (Talmud and Kabbala), Moslems, and others in later times. He has collected a large mass of miscellaneous materials,

which he arranges under a series of distinct headings. Among the numerous topics dealt with are the vowel-groups employed (along with other gibberish) in magic invocations; the use of the seven Greek vowels to symbolise the seven planets; the employment of the Greek letters to denote numbers, and the various devices thence evolved ('Gematria', and 'Isopsephia' of names); and that sort of 'letter-mystic' of which an instance is to be found in the system of the Valentinian Gnostic Marcus.

To the list of Arabic writings on 'the secrets of the letters' given by Herr Dornseiff, p. 142, might be added *Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters explained*, by Ahmad b. Abubekr b. Wahshih, c. 800 A.D. (?); Engl., J. Hammer, London, 1806. The writer of that book gives a large number of different alphabets intended for use in magic, and ascribes some of them to Hermes Trismegistus. The *χαρακτῆρες* of unknown meaning which are employed in some of the charms in the Greek Magic Papyri were presumably taken from these or similar alphabets.

W. SCOTT.

M. Porci Catonis De Agri Cultura Liber. Post Henricum Keil iterum edidit GEORGIUS GOETZ. Pp. xx+74. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922.

THIS re-edition of the small Teubner text shows that sobriety of judgment, that painstaking thoroughness, which we associate with the work of the veteran Professor of Jena. A year or two ago he celebrated his seventieth birthday there. Later he presided at the meeting there of the German Classical Association, and gave a message of hope to German scholars in these their dark days. This year he has published Atto's *Polyptychum*, a curious specimen of glossary Latin, in which language is used to conceal thought (for Atto out-Aldhelm's Aldhelm). And now this text of Cato. Professor Goetz defies Time. And in his long life he has made all men his friends, no man his enemy.

Per Plauti ioca regulasque docti
Varronis salebrasque Lexicorum
Qui nobis iter expedire norat,
Nunc praecepta novat gravis Catonis
O mirande senex, perenne vivax.

W. M. LINDSAY.

Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache. Von DR. FRIEDRICH STOLZ. Zweite Aufl., durchgesehen von Dr. ALBERT DEBRUNNER (Sammlung Götschen No. 492). One vol. Pp. 131. Berlin und Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1922.

As a first introduction to the subject this volume may be warmly recommended. The revision

has been done with skill and knowledge, so that the reader's attention is duly drawn to the various topics of interest, including not only the Italic dialects of Indo-European origin, but also Etruscan, which promises to become increasingly important for students of Latin.

R. MCKENZIE.

Le Langage : Introduction Linguistique à l'Histoire. Par J. VENDRYES. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xxviii (=Preface by Henri Berr)+420+20 (=Bibliography, Index, etc.). Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1921. 15 francs.

THE author has an extensive and in many cases detailed knowledge of languages and of books about them, and his work is packed with particulars, each conscientiously referred to one or other of the items in the very full bibliography which is appended; but the recital of particulars lacks interest because it is not vivified by any strong power of generalising. Even when allowance has been made for the fact that the book was completed in manuscript in 1914, it is difficult to accord to it any but faint praise.

R. MCKENZIE.

Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin. By Professor OTTO JESPERSEN, Ph.D., Litt.D. One vol. Pp. 448. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1922. 18s. net.

THE author's well-known *Progress in Language* being out of print, this book, which (as stated on the wrapper) is in most respects an entirely new work, takes its place. It is, however, new only in the sense that it contains a good deal of matter which was not to be found in the older work, not in the sense that it in any important respect marks a change in the author's ideas about language. Professor Jespersen's main contention, that there is in language a movement towards greater perfection, whether this movement manifests itself in the simplification of inflexions or otherwise, remains the same. The new matter includes chapters on the history of comparative philology, in the form of biographical sketches of the most famous scholars, among whom the Danes are accorded a prominence which is not more than their due. In this part of the book free use has been made of Danish sources, especially the works of Vilhelm Thomsen; and these are handled in such a way that their original freshness and vigour are scarcely impaired in the transmission. The chapters on the language of children, of foreigners (including Pidgin-English, Beach-la-Mar, etc.), and of women, contain a wealth of interesting and often amusing illustrative material, though it is not very clearly shown whether anything of fundamental importance can be learned in this way. The concluding chapters are devoted to topics which might seem to come nearer to the kernel of the subject—viz. etymology, the question of the origin of language, and the question whether language is in progress or decay. In conscious opposition to the general tendency of the last half-century or more, the author considers that the origin of language is a question worth studying

and disagrees expressly with the *Société de Linguistique de Paris*, which in its statutes (1866) decided to reject every contribution dealing with this subject. It may be doubted whether Professor Jespersen will convince many that the oblivion into which it has fallen is undeserved. Yet, although in this and in other points one may disagree with the author's scale of values, the book deserves to be welcomed as a very readable survey of the subject.

R. MCKENZIE.

Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte. Von FELIX SOLMSEN. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von ERNST FRAENKEL. 1 vol. Pp. xii+261. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1922.

IN the year 1912 Professor Fraenkel found among the papers of his lately deceased teacher F. Solmsen the manuscript of a work on Indo-European proper names, and undertook to arrange for its publication. Circumstances have at length permitted him to fulfil this promise, and the result is the present volume.

The book falls into five parts: (1) Names of countries; (2) names of rivers and mountains; (3) place-names in the narrower sense—i.e., names of human habitations; (4) names of peoples; (5) names of persons. The whole is completed by a general introduction, a short appendix on foreign family names in German, and indices.

The scope of the book is limited for the most part to Greek, Latin, and Germanic. To this limitation there can be no reasonable objection, but it would have been well to restrict the scope of the title correspondingly. Grammars of Indo-European languages are of interest especially in so far as they succeed in presenting that aspect of a language in which it differs from the others, and has a history and individuality of its own. In the treatment of proper names it is especially easy to overestimate the importance of the inheritance from 'Indo-European.' Solmsen was not quite free from this error, and readers of W. Schulze's *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* will feel compelled to agree with Professor Fraenkel in those cases where he rejects Solmsen's opinion in favour of Schulze's. Schulze's work is, in fact, a demonstration of the necessity for looking elsewhere than to 'Indo-European' for the explanation of many Latin proper names.

The task of preparing the book for publication has been performed by Professor Fraenkel with his usual efficiency, so that in particular the numerous bibliographies have been brought quite up to date. Solmsen's work will be of service as an introduction to the study of these names.

R. MCKENZIE.

The Roman Fate. An Essay in Interpretation. By W. E. HEITLAND, M.A. One vol. Pp. 80. Cambridge University Press, 1922. 3s.

IN these three papers Mr. Heitland considers the causes of the ultimate collapse of Roman civilisation with special reference to certain

modern writers who find the explanation in race suicide, the voluntary extinction of the best elements of the population. While not rejecting this view altogether, Mr. Heitland submits it to a critical examination, and shows that it unduly simplifies the problem. The expression 'race suicide' suggests the false idea that 'the Romans' were a race or nationality in the modern sense; and, again, to say what were the 'best elements' in the Roman state is by no means an easy task. The old republican aristocracy died out under the principate, but other classes supplied the state with efficient administrators. Mr. Heitland himself is inclined to find a political explanation. In spite of her genius for assimilation, Rome, he says, failed to create a homogeneous state, the members of which exercised an effective control over their government. 'Rome never developed a political organ capable at once of continuous action and peaceful reform.' 'No public opinion, organised and consistent, could arise among her widely scattered citizens.' A more democratic form of government, he seems to think, would have saved her from the barbarians. At a time like the present, when there is a tendency among writers to idealise the Roman principate, such a protest is stimulating, and, coming as it does from a learned historian, deserves serious consideration. But Mr. Heitland seems to us to do less than justice to one important feature of Roman rule. Though the average citizen had little political influence, has there ever been a time when a man of good ability but humble origin had such a chance of rising to the highest places in the State? This feature of democracy was far more prominent in the Rome of the emperors than in many a modern State possessed of representative institutions.

G. H. STEVENSON.

The Growth of Rome. By P. E. MATHESON. Pp. 96. Oxford University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d.

THIS little volume [contains in less than a hundred pages a masterly sketch of Roman history down to the age of the Antonines. Though it is intended for beginners, it is well documented, and the numerous references to larger works in the footnotes will enable readers to pursue farther the study of subjects to which Mr. Matheson has introduced them.

G. H. STEVENSON.

The Plebs in Cicero's Day: A Study of their Provenance and of their Employment. By M. E. PARK. Bryn Mawr College, 1918. Pp. 90.

THIS dissertation is a valuable contribution to the study of a subject on which much good work has recently been published. Miss Park, who is a pupil of Professor Tenney Frank, has collected, in a very scholarly way, the evidence on which Professor Frank relies when in his *Economic History of Rome* he emphasises the essentially Greek and Oriental character of the working classes of Rome at the end of the Republic and under the Principate. She expounds the conditions which led to the emigration from Italy of men of free birth and the immigration into Italy of Orientals, to a large extent as slaves. A careful study of the writings of Cicero and of the stamps on Arretine pottery enables her to show the important part played in Roman economic life by slaves and freedmen of Eastern origin. A study of Mr. Heitland's article in *J.R.S.* VIII. i. would perhaps lead her to modify the view she expresses on p. 26 about the emigration of Italian farmers, but she agrees with the same writer's *Agricola* when she emphasises (pp. 51-5) the predominatingly servile character of Italian farm labour.

G. H. STEVENSON.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY REPORTS.

IN a paper on 'The Title Imperator in the Roman Republic,' Mr. G. H. Stevenson pointed out that before 89 B.C. there is no certain instance of the use of this title by a magistrate during his year of office; even proconsuls who had received the *salutatio* seem to have preferred to style themselves consul or praetor or their Greek equivalents, and often retained the title of a magistracy after their year of office had expired. At the close of the Republic the title Imperator is generally associated with a form of imperium which is *proconsular* in character, and the regular magistracy loses its prestige. But the theory of Mommsen, that the use of the title by Augustus implies a claim to proconsular imperium, was shown to be open to serious objections.

In a second paper entitled 'Some Notes on the Finance of Pericles,' Mr. Stevenson attempted to prove that from the year 454, when the Treasury of the Delian League was transferred to Athens, all surpluses of the annual revenues of the League were regarded as sacred monies of Athena, and that the sums

contributed by the treasurers of the goddess to the public buildings were largely derived from this source. He maintained that this theory alone makes the complaints of the allies intelligible, and that it is supported by the fact that a large sum had to be advanced by the treasurers of the goddess at the time of the revolt of Samos. The regulation of the Decree of Callias (which he dated about 434) that all surplus league funds were to be deposited with them did not, he held, signify a new departure in financial policy.

A paper was read by Mr. A. D. Knox on February 9, 1923, in which the reader expressed the following views with regard to P. Bodl. f. 1 (p) and P. Lond. 155 verso and P. Heid. 310:

A. (a) P. Lond. v. 3 reads . . . *νε πρὸς σε χρ(ήσ)μαι πάση*. Hence it is addressed to Parnos like P. Heid. (b) P. Lond. 62 and 63: traces agree exactly with P. Heid. 34 and 35 (c) But

P. Lond. has omitted 5 verses, since P. Lond. 40 = P. Heid. 310 v. 7 *ῥην* (see Milne in *C.R.* December, 1922). (d) Hence col. 1 of P. Heid. is really col. 2, col. 1 of Lond. is col. 1, and col. 1 of P. Bodl. is col. 2. (e) Together they form introduction of anthology. (f) P. Heid. 116 ff. are from Attic comedy, as rhythm shows. (g) Several fragments of anthology, e.g. in *Berl. kl. Texte* V. 2, are of this anthology. (h) The first vv. address the author's pupil or ward 'Were your father alive': compare Stobaeus' introduction.

B. (a) Greg. Naz. II. i. x. vv. 367 ff. quotes from an iambic anthology arranged as our Stobaeus in pros and cons. (b) vv. 585 ff. quotes 9 verses (one corrupt) from tragic (or iambic) writers. (c) Immediately follows a quotation from Kerkidas. (d) These three verses are a misunderstanding of P. Heid. 310 v. 49, which should read somewhat as follows: *τὸ γὰρ στόμ' ὡς ἔοικεν εὐπαθεῖ μόνον χρόνον τοσοῦτον*

ὅσον ἂν τις ἐσθλὴν θῶν δ' ἀμείψῃ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸν ἥμιστον *εἰς τὴν Χάρυβδιν εἰς ἓν ὀχρεται πάντα.* (e) *τέλους τρυφῶντων* may = P. Heid. 66. (f) *ἐσθλὴν ἄλῃς* = (ἀλός) *χό(ν)δος* in P. Heid. 60 and *ἀλὼν φόρτος* in 66. (g) *ἀλμυρὸν καταπτῶν* echoes Milne's reading of v. 36 Lond. which we now read as *καταπτύσεν* (? error for *καταπτῶν*).

C. Kerkidas as author. (a) His frequent citations in the meliambi indicate the anthologist and resemble the structure of these choliambics. (b) He alludes to his anthology in the words *πάντα τεύσιν δ' ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοισι* ff.

D. The anthology. (a) Probably confided itself to drama + iambiographers, as other anthologies are limited in metres; (b) was widely spread and assisted in the decay of Greek letters; (c) was a school textbook: Greg. Naz. *l.c.* 'the old books on which you were brought up.'

A text based on Milne's and the reader's researches was supplied.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK) (1922.)

ART.—Oct. 30. R. Carpenter, *The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art* (B. Murray). The writer confines himself to an analysis of the behaviour of Greek art; he classifies arts as they offer a one-, two-, or three-dimensional appeal. M. praises the book, but finds certain of its pronouncements difficult to follow.—Dec. 18. F. Poulsen (translated by I. Andersen), *Etruscan Tomb Paintings* (S. B. Luce). Highly praised as the first textbook in English on the subject. L. discusses at length the scenes described.

LITERATURE.—Oct. 2. Gladys Martin, *Laus Pisonis*; Doris Martin, *Cynegetica of Nemesianus* (W. P. Mustard). Cornell dissertations, consisting of editions with introductions and notes. Each is very creditable.—Nov. 20. C. L. Brownson, *Plato's Studies and Criticisms of the Poets* (W. C. Greene). 'A highly interesting book.'

RELIGION.—Nov. 13. J. P. Taylor, *The Mythology of Vergil's Aeneid according to Servius* (A. C. Caffen). A New York University dissertation. Author confines himself to treating personages who became actual objects of worship. Praised.—Dec. 4. H. D. Sedgwick, *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography* (Grace H. Goodall). The work of one who is convinced that M. A.'s spiritual problem is *our* spiritual problem. A strong book, written in a lucid and charming style.

The issues for Nov. 13 and 20 contain lists of articles on classical subjects (several of them dealing with the report of the Prime Minister's Committee) in non-classical periodicals.

(1923.)

ECONOMICS.—January 29. M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (W. L. Westermann). Highly

praised; W. criticises details and rash generalisations.

HISTORY.—February 26. G. W. Botsford, *Hellenic History* (W. W. Hyde). Generally praised, but marred by errors due to post-humous editing. Pays less attention to military and political matters, and more to culture, than do most handbooks.

LITERATURE.—January 29. Ethel L. Chubb, *An Anonymous Epistle of Dido to Aeneas* [Pennsylvania Diss., 1920] (H. C. Coffin). A useful edition of a fourth-century hexameter poem from the Cod. Salmasianus.

PHILOSOPHY.—January 8. P. E. Moore, *Religion of Plato* (E. Fitch). 'Not so much a contribution to technical Platonic scholarship, as an assertion of the central truth of Plato's dualism.'—January 22. A. Gianola, *La Fortuna di Pitagora presso i Romani* [Catania, 1921] (W. A. Heidel). An attempt to connect the 'Pythagoreanism' of Ennius and his successors with the original brotherhood.—O. Apelt, *Diogenes Laërtius* [Leipzig, 1921] (Heidel). A German translation, accurate and idiomatic, with brief explanatory notes.

RELIGION.—February 5. Alberta M. Franklin, *The Lupercalia* [Columbia Diss., 1921] (J. W. Hewitt). Attempts to separate and to date the various elements in the cult. 'A useful monograph.'—H. W. Wright, *The Sacra Idulia in Ovid's 'Fasti'* [Pennsylvania Diss., 1917] (Hewitt). 'Not convincing.'

SCIENCE.—March 12. C. Singer, *Greek Biology and Greek Medicine* (A. D. Fraser).—H. O. Taylor, *Greek Biology and Medicine* [Boston, 1922] (Fraser). The former is highly praised, though F. thinks it unjust to Galen; the latter is 'forced and confused.'

[The issues for February 26 and March 5 contain lists of classical articles in non-classical periodicals.]

MUSÉE BELGE XXVI. 1922.

No. 2, APRIL.—A. Delatte, *L'Atlantide de Platon*. Myth answers *Rep.* 422A: the Republic, realised in primitive Athens, repels the φλεγμαίνουσα πόλις Atlantis, features of which recall Persia and Carthage.—P. Graindor, *Une Stèle funéraire béotienne*. A Brussels stele (Hermophaneia) not Attic.—P. Rolland, *Une Inscr. romaine de Tournai*. Reconsiders C.I.L. XIII. 3566.—J. Dobias (Prague), *Prétendues Inscriptions relatives aux Dulgubnii*. Rejects Domaszewski's Lombards on Marcus' column. 'Dulg.' *Année Epigr.* 1911, p. 52, refers to Dulca, Doliche. P. Marchot, *Noms de Lieux belgo-romains dans la Forêt d'Ardenne*.—A. Roersch, *Lévin Algoet, humaniste et géographe*. A protégé of Erasmus.—E. Merchie, 'Confiteor errorem,' Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* III. 12. 2.—A. Delatte, *Hor. A.P.* 172. Aristotle supports rather 'avidusque futuri.'—G. Hinnisdaels notices briefly work of French School of Athens 1920-1.

Nos. 3-4, JULY-OCTOBER.—P. Graindor, *Études sur l'Éphébie attique sous l'Empire*. Lost military spirit, and festivals were largely sports. Studied in great detail.—J. G. P. Borleffs, *De Minucii Felicis Octavio*. Tertullian closer to M. in passages of his earlier *Ad Nat.* than in *Apol.* M. prior to Tert.—R. Scalais, *Cic. Verr.* on Sicily as granary of Rome exaggerates: only one-fifth then cultivated.—A. Delatte, *La Magie grecque: notes. La Sphère magique d'Athènes: ἀκρόπολις δαίμων*.—E. Merchie, *Gloses latines inédites du Cod. Vat. Reginae 203* (Sid. Apoll.).—L. Laurand, *Notes bibliographiques sur Cicéron* (second series).—A. Delatte, *La 'Lanterne de Diogène'*. An Athenian monument so-called in seventeenth century.—N. Hohlwein, Survey of Rostovtzeff, *A large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* Bibliographie d'Henri Francotte.

MUSÉE BELGE: BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE.

(JULY 15, 1922.)

AUTHORS: GREEK.—*Aristophanes*: P. Bou-treaux: *Le Texte d'Aristophane et ses Commentateurs*. (A posthumous work.) Edited by G. Méautis: fasc. 114 de la Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Paris, de Boccard (Fontemoing), 1919. The author was a scholar who fell in the war in 1914. [Spoken well of, as far as it goes, by R. Nihard.]—*Homer*: F. Stürmer, *Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee*. Würzburg, Drerup, 1921. It divides the *Odyssey* into fifteen Rhapsodies. [The method is favourably reviewed by A. Delatte.]—Fr. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*. Berlin, Weidmann, 1921. M.12. [Highly praised by L. Derochette.]—*Xenophon: Ueber die pseudoxenophontische 'Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. Untersuchungen über Text, literarischen Charakter, und social-politische Bedeutung der Schrift. (Rhetorische Studien, hrsg. v. Drerup. H.9.) Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1921. [M. Van der Mijnsbrugge. The third part is the most interesting and vivid.]—A. Bandaret, *Untersuchung-*

en su Xenophons Hellenika. Leipzig, Teubner, 1919. Brought out by E. Meyer, whose pupil he had been. [Th. Schillings: clever but incomplete.]

LATIN.—October 15, 1922. *Seneca*: Three large books on Seneca are commended by their respective reviewers. (1) *Études sur Sénèque*, par P. Faider: Gand, Van Rysselberghe et Rombaut, 1921. [E. Merchie: an important work.]—(2) *Sénèque: Dialogues*. Tome 1. *De Ira*. Texte établi et traduit par A. Bourguery. Paris, 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1922. (Collection des Universités de France, publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé.) [P. Faider: the text is conservative.]—(3) *Sénèque prosateur: Études littéraires et grammaticales sur la Prose de Sénèque le Philosophe*, par A. Bouguery. Paris, 1922. The same publishers as No. 2. [P. Faider: rich in details.]

GENERAL.—*Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, by Maurice Brillant. Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1920. 4 fr. [A useful summary of the question, R. Scalais.]—*Recherches sur le Pythagorisme*, by Georges Méautis. Recueil des travaux publiés par la Faculté des Lettres de Neuchâtel, fasc. 9. Neuchâtel, Secrétariat de l'Université, 1922. 6 fr. (suisses). [Well spoken of by A. Delatte. There is no break of continuity between the ancient Pythagoreanism and the revival in the first century A.D.]

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER, 1922.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—K. Meister, *Die Homerische Kunstsprache* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. Pp. viii.+262] (Sitzler). M. has successfully revealed the workshops of the epic poets and shows where they got their materials and how they used them. Reviewer criticises at considerable length many points of detail.—J. Capovilla, *Φιλολογικαὶ Μελέται* [Cairo, 1921. Pp. 103] (Wecklein). Discusses thoroughly (a) Homeric Dodona, (b) development of the story of Orestes, (c) scene of the Eumenides, (d) site of Erytheia.—N. Wecklein, *Über Zenodot und Aristarch* [SB d. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., 1919, No. 7. München, 1919. Pp. 115] (Helck). Collection of material that will help to a clearer understanding of Z. and A.—V. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni opera. Vol. I. II.: Contra Eunomium libri* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. Pp. xii+391; lxvii+391] (Thomsen). Handy edition which satisfies the highest demands.—F. Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos* [Berlin, 1922, Ebering. Pp. 107] (Sitzler). By careful research S. has established what can at present be known or conjectured with probability about the Pinakes.

LATIN LITERATURE.—E. T. Merrill, *C. Plini Caecili Secundi epistularum libri decem* [Leipzig, 1922. Pp. xxiv+315] (Klotz). Textual material presented with exemplary exactness, though at the price of perspicuity. HISTORY.—O. T. Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat zum Domnat. Das Wesen des römischen Kaiser-*

- tums des dritten Jahrhunderts* [Paderborn, 1919, Schöningh. Pp. 307] (Schwinkowski). Very complete for the political history and philosophy of the Third Century; but not easy to read.—V. Ehrenberg, *Die Rechtsidee im frühen Griechentum. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der werdenden Polis* [Leipzig, 1921, Hirzel. Pp. 150; one plate] (Gelzer). Examines the meaning of *θεός, δίκη, θεσμός, νόμος*. Reviewer welcomes in E. a genuine historian.—E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania. Ergänzungen zum 2. Abdruck. S. 498-515* [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner] (L. Schmidt). Consists largely of supplementary notes by other specialists.—A. Boëthius, *Der Argyvische Kalender* [Uppsala, 1922, Akad. Bokhandeln. Pp. 76] (Roscher). Extraordinarily thorough and acute.—J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Schlachtenatlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte. Römische Abteilung. I. Älteste Zeiten und Punische Kriege bis Cannae* [Leipzig, 1922, Wagner und Debes. Six plates; 26 columns of text] (Grosse). Based on the authors' great work on ancient battlefields (1903-1912); maps very clear and technically perfect; should be in every school library.—M. Wlassak, *Der Judikationsbefehl der römischen Prozesse* [SB d. Wien. Ak. d. Wiss. Vol. 197, No. 4. Wien, 1921, Hölder. Pp. 311] (Grupe). Important result of critical examination of sources and literature.—M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au III^e siècle avant J.-C.* (273-205) [Paris, 1921, Fontemoing et Cie. Pp. iv, + 386] (Gelzer). Shows that Rome was being unconsciously prepared for empire by political events of the Third Century B.C. Very careful and penetrating.—L. Vorndran, *Die Aristocratea des Demosthenes als Advokatenrede und ihre politische Tendenz* [Paderborn, 1922] (Rüger). Seeks to prove that the speech was not in the interests of the war party, but inclines to the more cautious policy of Eubulos. V. has made a good start.—F. Poland, E. Reisinger, R. Wagner, *Die antike Kultur in ihren Hauptzügen dargestellt* [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner. Pp. x+242; 118 figures, 6 plates, and 2 plans] (Immisch). Though only an epitome of the two large volumes it is meant to replace, it is excellent in its way and thoroughly to be recommended.
- PHILOSOPHY.**—J. Heinemann, *Poseidonios' metaphysische Schriften. Bd. I.* [Dresden, 1921, Marcus. Pp. 218] (Leisegang). Keen eye for characteristics of Posidonius; much new ground opened up.—F. Heinemann, *Plotin. Forschungen über die plotinische Frage, Plotins Entwicklung und sein System* [Leipzig, 1921, Meiner. Pp. xiii + 318] (Nestle). Peculiarly attractive as a piece of comparative philosophy and for its critical penetration.—E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen. Erster Teil: Allgemeine Einleitung. Vorsokratistische Philosophie. Zweite Hälfte. 6 Aufl. Arg. von W. Nestle* [Leipzig, 1920, Reisland. Pp. viii + 678] (Capelle). Long review concludes with praise of this new edition. N. is thorough, careful, and consistently sane in judgment.
- PHILOLOGY.**—J. Vendryes, *Le langage. Introduction linguistique à l'histoire* [Paris, 1921, La Renaissance du Livre. Pp. xxviii + 439] (Niedermann). Fascinating and stimulating; amazingly full of matter.—Δεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον τῆς Μέσης καὶ Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς Τόμ. Α'-Ε' [Athens, 1915-1920] (Soyter). Mainly devoted to etymology, lexicography, and semasiology; also contains studies in syntax, dialects, mythology, etc.—K. Barwick, *Kemmius Palaemon und die römische ars grammatica* [Leipzig, 1922, Dieterich. Pp. 272] (Wessner). Careful and correct in all essentials; one of the most valuable pieces of work in this sphere.
- METRIC.**—A. W. de Groot, *Der antike Prosarhythmus. I.* [Groningen, 1921, Wolters. Pp. 114] (Ammon). A store of statistical research.
- ARCHAEOLOGY.**—F. Koepp, F. Drexel, *Germania Romana. Ein Bilderatlas, hrsg. von der Römisch-germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* [Bamberg, 1922, Buchner. Pp. xxiv; 100 plates] (Lamer). Forms a small Corpus of Roman German archaeology; an exemplary achievement.—M. Ebert, *Südrussland im Altertum* [Bonn und Leipzig, 1921, Schroeder. Pp. 436; 145 figures] (Ziebarth). Excellent short history of the Ukraine in ancient times based mainly upon archaeological material.—F. Krischen, *Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos. 'Milet,' Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, hrsg. von Th. Wiegand. Bd. III. Heft 2* [Berlin, 1922, de Gruyter. Pp. 52; 25 plates, 40 figures, and 3 plans] (Fredrich). Thoroughly reliable; splendid plates giving both general views and all details of the fortifications.
- GEOGRAPHY.**—O. Maull, *Beiträge zur Morphologie des Peloponnes und des südlichen Mittelgriechenlands* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. Pp. vii + 120; 7 plates] and *Griechisches Mittelmeergebiet* [Breslau, 1922, Hirt. Pp. viii + 116; 13 maps and diagrams, and 33 illustrations] (Gerland). The former is warmly recommended to all interested in the physical geography of Greece. Both contain original scientific results of importance.
- MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION.**—C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage. Griechische Mythologie von L. Preller, 4 Aufl., 2 Bd., Buch I.-III., 1* [Berlin, 1920, 1921, Weidmann. Pp. xii + 968] (Pfister). This fourth edition is almost entirely a new work; amazingly full investigation of sources with complete mastery of the material.—O. Gruppe, *Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte während des Mittelalters im Abendland und während der Neuzeit* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. Pp. viii + 248] (Pfister). Valuable supplementary volume to Roscher's Lexikon; extraordinarily full.—W. Achelis, *Die Deutung Augustins, Bischofs von Hippo. Analyse seines geistigen Schaffens auf Grund seiner erotischen Struktur* [Prien am Chiemsee, 1921, Kampmann und Schnabel. Pp. viii + 137] (Thomsen). Brilliant both in form and substance.—E. Stemplinger, *Antiker Aber-*

glaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen [Leipzig, 1922, Dieterich. Pp. 128] (Roscher). Rich collection of ancient and modern superstitious beliefs and practices. Excellent.—F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner. Pp. vi+177] (Roscher). Unusually full, thorough, and learned;

illuminates many assertions of ancient writers; deserves the thanks of Classical Philologists, Orientalists, and Theologians.—J. E. Kalitsounaki, *Ἐπταδικαὶ Ἐρευνᾶι* [Athens, 1922, Sakellarios. Pp. 116] (Roscher). Thorough investigation of the origin of the religious significance of the number 7.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—There is an alternative way of explaining the faulty reading of the MSS. in Catullus 63, 14, 'uelut exules loca celeri,' which is perhaps worthy of consideration. The first two words read like an explanatory note on the passage; if that was their original function,

they stood at first in the margin of the MS., while a substantive, with which 'celeri' agreed, stood in the text till it was thrust out by the intrusion of 'u. e.' 'Abitu loca celeri' (with 'u. e.' in the margin) is the restoration of the passage that I suggest.—Yours faithfully,

J. A. FORT.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. *Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

Austin (J. C.) *The Significant Name in Terence.* University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. VII., No. 4; November, 1921. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 7". Pp. 130. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Paper, \$2.

Bond (R. W.) *The Pedlar, a Narrative Poem.* Part I. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xii+167. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. Boards, 6s. net.

Broadhead (H. D.) *Latin Prose Rhythm: A New Method of Investigation.* 9" x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+137. Cambridge: Deighton Bell and Co., 1922. Cloth, 15s.

Burk (A.) *Die Pädagogik des Isokrates als Grundlegung des humanistischen Bildungsideals, im Vergleich mit den zeitgenössischen und den modernen Theorien dargestellt.* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. XII. Band. 3/4 Heft.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+231. Würzburg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers der 'Studien,' 1923. Paper, 6s. net.

Bury (J. B.) *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I. to the Death of Justinian (A.D. 395-565).* 2 vols. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xxv+471, xi+493. London: Macmillan and Co., 1923. 42s. net.

Carlsson (G.) *Zur Textkritik der Pliniusbriefe.* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1. Bd. 18. Nr. 5.) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. v+72. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. Paper, kr. 2.50.

Classical Philology. Volume XVIII., No. 1. January, 1923. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 96. Chicago: University Press. Paper.

Curle (A. O.) *The Treasure of Traprain, a Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver Plate.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xv+131. Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson, and Co., 1923. Cloth, 63s. net.

De Falco (V.) *In Ioannis Pediasimi libellum de partu septemmenstri ac novemmenstri*

nondum editum. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. 29. Naples: Cimmaruta, 1923. Paper.

Drerup (E.) *Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums (von Theopomp bis Tzetzes: Geschichte, Roman, Legende).* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, XII. Band. 1/2 Heft.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. iv+264. Würzburg: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers der 'Studien,' 1923. Paper, 6s. net.

Flickinger (R. C.) *The Greek Theater and its Drama.* Revised Edition. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xxi+368. Chicago: The University Press, 1922. Cloth, \$3.

Furneaux (H.) *Corneli Taciti de Vita Agricolae,* edited by H. F. Second edition revised and largely rewritten by J. G. C. Anderson, with contributions by F. Haverfield. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. lxxxviii+192. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

Gephart (R. F.) *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani: Suetonius's Life of Domitian with Notes and Parallel Passages.* (Doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania). 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 120. Philadelphia, Pa., 1922. Paper.

Goitein (H.) *Primitive Ordeal and Modern Law.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xvii+302. London: Allen and Unwin, 1923. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Grégoire (H.) *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure, Fasc. I.* 14" x 10". Pp. iii+128. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922. Paper.

Hall (J. P.) *Caer Llugwy, Excavation of the Roman Fort between Capel Curig and Bettws-y-Coed.* First Report, edited by F. A. Bruton. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 64. Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans, and Co., 1923. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

Halliday (W. R.) *Lectures on the History of Roman Religion from Numa to Augustus.* 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 182. Liverpool: University Press, 1922. Cloth, 5s. net.

- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.* Vol. XXXIII. 9" x 6". Pp. xi + 188. London: Milford, 1923. Boards, 6s. 6d. net.
- Haverfield* (F.) *The Romanization of Roman Britain.* Fourth edition, revised by G. Macdonald. 9" x 5½". Pp. 90. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth.
- Hermathena*, No. XLIII. 9" x 6". Pp. viii, 167-353. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co., 1922. Cloth, 6s.
- Hoernle* (E. S.) *The Problem of the Agamemnon*, being a criticism of Dr. Verrall's theory of the plot of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*; and Dr. Verrall's reply. *The Recognition Scene in the Choephoroe*, an examination of Dr. Verrall's introduction to the play with a new solution of the problem. 9" x 5½". Pp. 42, 28. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1921 and 1922. Paper, 2s. net. each.
- Hosius* (C.) *Propertius, iterum edidit C. H.* 6½" x 4½". Pp. xxiii + 190. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. Paper, 3.40s.
- Howald* (E.) *Die Briefe Platons*, herausgegeben von E. H. 9½" x 6½". Pp. v + 197. Zürich: Seldwyla, 1923. Paper.
- Jacks* (L. V.) *St. Basil and Greek Literature.* (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies. Vol. I.) 9" x 6". Pp. v + 124. Washington, D.C.; Catholic University of America, 1922. Paper.
- Koepp* (F.) und *Wolff* (G.) *Römisch-Germanische Forschung.* 6" x 4". Pp. 120 + 8 plates. (Sammlung Götschen.) Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter und Co. 1922. Boards, 1s.
- Lavagnini* (B.) *Eroticorum Graecorum Fragmenta Papyracea*, edidit B. L. 6½" x 4½". Pp. iv + 48. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. Paper, 2.05s.
- Lindsay* (W. M.) *Early Latin Verse.* 9" x 5½". Pp. ix + 372. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. Cloth, 28s. net.
- Mackail* (J. W.) *Virgil and his Meaning to the World of To-day.* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, 15.) 7½" x 5". Pp. xiii + 159. London: G. G. Harrap and Co. Cloth, 5s. net.
- McKerrow* (J. C.) *The Appearance of Mind.* 7½" x 4½". Pp. xv + 120. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Mills* (W. H.) *The Odes of Horace*, Englished by W. H. M. 7½" x 5". Pp. 111. Berkeley, California: Lederer, Street, and Zeus Co., 1921. Cloth.
- Modona* (A. N.) *Documenti della primitiva letteratura cristiana in recenti papiri d'Ossirinco.* (Estratti Rivista 'Bilychnis,' II. Serie, N. 92.) 9½" x 7¼". Pp. iii + 151. Roma: Casa Edit. 'Bilychnis,' 1923. Paper.
- Μουσείον, Rivista di Antichità.* Anno I, Fascicolo I. 10" x 7". Pp. viii + 80. Naples: Rondinella and Loffredo, 1923. Paper, lire 10.
- Oswald* (F.) and *Pryce* (T. D.) *An introduction to the study of Terra Sigillata treated from a chronological standpoint.* 10½" x 7½". Pp. xii + 286, with 85 plates. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1920. Cloth.
- Peet* (T. E.) *Egypt and the Old Testament.* 8½" x 5½". Pp. 236. Liverpool: University Press, 1922. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Photiadhis* (P. S.) 'Ἀττικὸν δίκαιον: Ἑρμηνευτικά καὶ διορθωτικά εἰς Ἰσαίων. (Extracts from 'H' *Ἀθηνᾶ*.) 9" x 6¼". Pp. 3-78, 54-66. Athens: Π. Δ. Σακελλάριος. Paper.
- Piganiol* (A.) *Recherches sur les Jeux Romains, Notes d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Religieuse.* 10¼" x 6½". Pp. vii + 155. Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1923. Paper, 3s. 6d.
- Postgate* (J. P.) *Prosodia Latina, an Introduction to Classical Latin Verse.* 7½" x 5". Pp. vii + 120. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Rouse* (W. H. D.) *Chanties in Greek and Latin Written for Ancient Traditional Airs.* 8½" x 5½". Pp. ii + 86. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. Boards, 2s. 6d. net.
- Schwendemann* (J.) *Der historische Wert der Vita Marci bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae.* 9½" x 6½". Pp. ii + 205. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1923. Paper, 6s.
- Showerman* (G.) *Horace and his Influence.* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, No. 14.) 7½" x 5". Pp. xvii + 176. London: Harrap. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Strena Philologica Upsaliensis.* Festschrift tillägnad Professor Per Persson på hans 65-Årsdag, Nyårsafton 1922. 9½" x 6½". Pp. vii + 416. Upsala: Edv. Berlings Boktryckeri A.-B., 1922. Paper.
- Swift* (F. D.) *A Plain Guide to Greek Accentuation.* Third edition revised. 8½" x 5". Pp. 22. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. Boards, 3s. net.
- Symbolae Arctoeae*, Fasc. I., edidit Societas Philologica Christianianensis. 6½" x 9½". Pp. iii + 86. Kristiania: A. W. Brögger, 1922. Paper.
- Taylor* (H. O.) *Greek Biology and Medicine.* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome, No. 35.) 7½" x 5". Pp. xviii + 151. London: Harrap. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Taylor* (M. V.) *The Roman Villa at North Leigh.* 8½" x 5½". Pp. 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Paper, 1s. net.
- The American Journal of Philology.* Vol. XLIV, 1. Whole No. 173. January, February, March, 1923. 9½" x 6". Pp. 96. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. Paper.
- Trevelyan* (R. C.) *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, translated by R. C. T. 7½" x 5½". Pp. 154. Liverpool: University Press, 1922. Boards, 5s. net.
- Wallies* (M.) *Aristotelis Topica cum Libro de Sophisticis Elenchis, e schedis Ioannis Strache edidit M. W.* 6½" x 4½". Pp. xx + 251. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923. Paper, 11.05s.
- Waller* (A.) *Die Grundbedeutung des Konjunktivs im Griechischen.* (Indogermanische Bibliothek, III. 3.) 8" x 5½". Pp. viii + 97. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1923. Paper, 2.8s.
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The Classical Review

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TWO TRANSLATIONS

‘LET US EAT AND DRINK . . .’

IF I drink water while this doth last,
May I never again drink wine :
For how can a man, in his life of a span,
Do anything better than dine ?
We'll dine and drink, and say if we
think
That anything better can be ;
And when we have dined, wish all man-
kind
May dine as well as we.

T. L. PEACOCK.

Quis Baccho potior deus ?
Dum cadi mihi suppetunt,
Exul his aqua sit labris :
Sin minus, mala Tantali
Vium me sitis urat.
Vitae summa iubet fugax
Indulgere mero et cibis ;
Adque mala ubi uentum erit,
Tum precabimur omnibus
Tam bene esse epulari.

E. H.

‘LET’S TALK OF WORMS . . .’

WHEN we behold a wide, turf-covered expanse, we should remember that its smoothness, on which so much of its beauty depends, is mainly due to all the inequalities having been slowly levelled by earth-worms. It is a marvellous reflection that the whole of the superficial mould over any such expanse has passed, and will again pass every few years, through the bodies of worms. The plough is one of the most ancient and valuable of man’s inventions ; but long before he existed the land was in fact regularly ploughed, and still continues to be thus ploughed, by earth-worms. It may be doubted whether there are many other animals which have played so important a part in the history of the world as have these lowly organised creatures.—DARWIN.

Praeterea late florentis gramine campos
cum uideas, nimirum oculis uenit inde
uoluptas
praesertim quia plana patent campi
aequora circum :
plana autem factast, quae quondam erat
aspera, tellus
uermiculorum opera qui in terris inue-
niuntur.
hi loca camporum pedetemptim leuia
reddunt ;
nam quae uestit humus molli quasi
cortice campum,
transiit haec omnis per corpora uer-
miculorum
transibitque iterum paucis uoluentibus
annis.
rem tu, si reputes, merito mirabere
tantam.
sunt antiqua hominum, sunt et prae-
clara reperta,
praecipuasque meret laudes inuentor
aratri ;
ante tamen genitos homines, ut tempus
ad hoc fit,
uermes usque suo uertebant uomere
glaebas.
huic igitur summae uix ulla animalia
tantum
contulerunt, quantum tam paucis sen-
sibus aucti
uermiculi.

J. D. D.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

To teachers of English and of Latin, as well as to those who engage in propaganda for or against either subject as an educational instrument, we recommend a careful perusal of a lecture delivered in February by Dr. J. W. Mackail to the Leeds and District Branch of the Classical Association, now published as *The Alliance of Latin and English Studies* (London, John Murray, 1s. net). 'In an age of increasing specialisation, at a time given over to the pursuit of short-cuts and the invention of substitutes, when the weight of accumulated knowledge, already greater than can be borne, is multiplying almost daily, can we recover that grasp of the unity of learning which is at once the symbol and the substantiation of a sense of the unity of life? If so, it is clear that the first thing to be done is to discard bodily the idea of competition in studies, and replace it by the idea of their co-operation and mutual reinforcement.' Leaving to those engaged in teaching and organisation the consideration of means and methods, Dr. Mackail pleads with his usual grace and power for the correlation of English and Latin studies in the interest of both subjects and of humane education.

J. T. S. writes:

The Oxford *Rhesus* was delightful, partly because of the charming setting in the garden of New College, with barbaric tents for the

Trojan encampment and noble medieval ruins for the walls of Troy. At night the shadows and the impending darkness may have added a touch of mystery, a suggestion of real war and tragedy. In the afternoon the sunshine, the green glades, and the trees, together with the not unpleasing but distracting music of the Oxford bells, kept one happily aware that all was make-believe. These gracious people, who talked and sang of war and night-adventure, danger and cunning, loyalty and death, were happy children of the fancy, not real men, sweating for destiny. That would have been a pity if the play had been *Medea* or *Hippolytus*; for the *Rhesus* it seemed right. The play has interest and beauty, but no tragic tension. Even pathos is hardly felt until the lamentation of the Muse at the end turns fantasy into high poetry. The skill of Mr. Cyril Bailey and his actors, helped by the setting and the music, contrived to give the whole play, not the last scene only, poetic value. Hector's gallant bearing—perhaps a shade more gallant than the text suggests—the languid grace of Rhesus—more modest, perhaps, than the author intended—and Athena's pleasant combination of majesty and mischief, remain in the memory. For the sake of the total impression we should have liked a touch of poetry in Dolon, though his comedy was in itself excellent; and we think Odysseus and Diomedes might have been given harder outlines, more sharply contrasted with the Trojan chivalry and vagueness. But nearly all the details seemed to us right, and the producer had his reward in the complete success of the final scene, superbly sung and acted by the Muse. Had the earlier scenes been presented as crude melodrama the end might have seemed a purple patch, and the whole incoherent. As it was, the performance gave us a new and, we think, true interpretation of the spirit of a very graceful poem.

A notice of the performance of the *Birds* at King's College, Strand, will appear in our next issue.

THE REVERSE OF ARISTOTLE.

'*Peripeteia*: a sudden change of fortune or reverse of circumstances.'—*New Eng. Dict.*

THE word *peripeteia* has done long and strenuous service. Critics from the Renaissance to Mr. Walkley, historians from Polybius to Mr. John Buchan, have never wearied of the golden term—everything, in fact, is known about it, except perhaps its meaning, or, rather, its meanings; for its uses, by Aristotle in dramatic criticism, and by later writers as a general term, are, I think, quite different and distinct. The traditional rendering, 'a reversal of for-

tune' or 'tragic catastrophe,' fits Polybius and other post-Aristotelian authors; but it has made nonsense for centuries in the *Poetics*.

This is, of course, no new theory. Over half a century ago it was suggested by Vahlen, who had himself been anticipated to some extent by Pye in 1792. Yet in England, at all events, this view has strangely failed to take hold. Butcher faces both ways, and Bywater will have none of it. Some of the arguments that follow are, I find, not new, but a good deal of the evidence

seems to me to have been neglected; and since the last word has been spoken on the other side by the standard English editor of the *Poetics*, Bywater, a restatement of the reasons in favour of Vahlen's view need not, I hope, seem a mere championing of the obvious.

There are six main passages in the *Poetics* where the *peripeteia* is mentioned:

(1) The first and most important is 1452a, 22-3, *ἔστι δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον τῶν πραττομένων μεταβολή*. Of which the traditional rendering is: 'Reversal of the situation is a change of the action to its opposite.'

'It must occur,' Aristotle adds, 'in accordance with our rule of the probable or inevitable. Thus in the *Oedipus* the messenger comes to cheer Oedipus and set his mind at rest about his mother, but by revealing who he is produces the opposite effect. Similarly in the *Lynceus* the hero is led away to execution, and Danaus follows, meaning to kill him, but, as the result of previous action, it comes about that Danaus gets killed himself, while Lynceus is saved.'

(2) In 1452a, 12-18, Aristotle classifies plots as (1) simple, (2) complex. Complex plots are those which contain a *peripeteia* or an *anagnorisis*, or both.

(3) In 1450a, 33-5, *peripeties* and discoveries (*ἀναγνώσεις*) are described as the most moving things in tragedy.

(4) In 1456a, 19-23, Agathon is praised for his adroit *peripeties*, in which a clever rogue like Sisyphus is outwitted or a brave villain foiled [cf. (1) above; and think of Shylock or Macbeth].

(5) In 1454b, 29-30, the *anagnorisis* of Odysseus by his nurse is described as *ἐκ περιπετείας* ('by a turn of incident,' Butcher; but see below).

(6) In 1459b, 14, the *Iliad* is classed as 'simple'—that is, without a *peripeteia*—whereas it abounds in reversals of fortune.

The next thing is to give a brief history of the controversy.

In 1792 Pye gave the rendering: 'A sudden and violent reversal of fortune, brought about by means apparently likely to produce the opposite effect.' This is absolutely right, except that Aristotle says nothing of suddenness or

violence, which are indeed not essential, though usual.

In 1866 Vahlen (*Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserl. Akad. in Wien*. LII., p. 89 ff.; or *Beiträge* II., pp. 6 and 68) urged similarly that a *peripeteia* is any event where the agent's intention is overruled to produce an effect the exact opposite of his intention. It is not itself a 'reversal of the situation,' only the means by which one is produced. *τῶν πραττομένων* could not mean 'of the situation,' for it must denote a course of action, not a state of affairs.

Susemihl in his edition of the *Poetics* (1874) followed Vahlen.

In 1895 Dr. Lock, of Keble, Oxford, upheld the same view in a very lucid article in the *Classical Review* (IX., pp. 251-3). His main points may be summed up as follows:

(1) *περιπέτεια*, *ἀναγνώρισις*, and *πάθος* are, says Aristotle, the three means through which the change of fortune is brought about (1452a, 13-7; 1452b, 9-13). Therefore *περιπέτεια* cannot itself mean 'change of fortune.' (It is the explosive, not the explosion.)

This argument is sound enough, though wrongly stated. Aristotle says that these three are constituents of the plot, not that the *πάθος* is a means to the change of fortune (as the *περιπέτεια* and *ἀναγνώρισις* are); and clearly a 'scene of suffering,' such as the last scene of the *Oedipus*, is result, not cause, of the catastrophe. Leave out all reference to *πάθος*, and for the *περιπέτεια* the reasoning stands.

(2) Aristotle's example of the messenger in the *Oedipus* is all-sufficing. He tries to dispel the hero's fears; in the very act he proves them but too true. Dr. Lock compares the use of the term *περιπέτεια* by the Venetian scholiast on *Il. II.* 155. Agamemnon tries to improve the morale of his army by a trick; in effect, he ruins it so completely that only a goddess out of a machine can retrieve the situation. That the scholiast rightly calls a *peripeteia*.

(3) In 1452a, 32-3, Aristotle says, *καλλίστη δὲ ἀναγνώρισις ὅταν ἅμα περιπέτεια γίνωνται*, as in the *Oedipus*. Dr. Lock argues from the plural *περιπέτεια* that the word cannot mean 'change of

situation,' for of these there is only one in the play. Aristotle is referring, he thinks, to the two peripeties in Vahlen's sense which are to be found in the *Oedipus*.

But the plural is surely merely a generalising one. It is the reader's natural impulse to take it so, and of the above arguments (2) is by far the strongest. In his third edition of 1902 Butcher professed himself convinced, and rendered *περιπέτεια* 'reversal of intention.'

But in the same year Bywater delivered a counter-attack in the *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* (p. 168 ff.).

He begins with the Lynceus-Danaus example. First, he says, you have Lynceus as doomed prisoner, Danaus as executioner; then Lynceus saved, Danaus dead. The situation *has* been reversed.

This example is, in fact, indecisive by itself, for it is, at least, equally favourable to Vahlen's view: Danaus' action has had the very opposite result to his intention, for the biter is bit, the would-be slayer slain.

The *Oedipus* instance Bywater finds harder to explain. Let me quote it more fully: *ἔστι δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν ἡ εἰς ἐναντίον τῶν πραττομένων μεταβολή, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ὥσπερ λέγομεν κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἢ ἀναγκαῖον, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι ἐλθὼν ὡς εὐφρανῶν τὸν Οἰδίπου καὶ ἀπαλλάξων τοῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα φόβου, δηλώσας ὅς ἦν, τοῦναντίον ἐποίησεν.*

Bywater's argument is that the messenger is not meant to illustrate *περιπέτεια* at all, but only the phrase *κατὰ τὸ εἶκος ἢ ἀναγκαῖον*. One must always provide a proper chain of causation—e.g. in the *Oedipus* the messenger is an essential link in the chain.

This is surely very far-fetched. Such a view makes the emphatic *τοῦναντίον* irrelevant and misleading; and it treats the twin examples from the *Oedipus* and the *Lynceus* as illustrating two absolutely different things—the first as an instance of proper causation, and the second of the *peripeteia* itself.

Finally, Bywater complains that Vahlen's rendering of the word is 'more artificial than a stage-term can bear.' If the technical terminology of an art may not be artificial, what may? And

what does 'artificial' mean in this context? If Bywater's contention is that reversals of intention are rare and exceptional things, that, as we shall see, is merely untrue.

Butcher, however, was reconverted 'in the main': 'reversal of intention,' says his edition of 1911, 'may enter into the *peripeteia*, but it is not an essential.'

Meanwhile Bywater's edition of 1909 had added nothing except the entirely pointless observation (which makes one doubt if he ever really understood his opponents) that on Vahlen's theory the *peripeteia* of the *Oedipus* would be 'a fact in the life of the messenger, not the turning-point in that of Oedipus.' It is, on any theory, both of these. The intention that is overruled and reversed, as Vahlen expressly said, *need not* be the hero's, though it usually is. For instance, in the story of Tristram and Yseult, where the very philtre that was to knit Yseult to her husband, King Mark, is the cause of her unfaithfulness, the fatal agents are likewise minor characters—Yseult's mother and Brangwain.

Such are the main arguments as yet advanced. Something remains to be said from the linguistic point of view in justification of Vahlen's rendering; and there is a good deal to be done in correlating the rival interpretations with Aristotle's tragic theory elsewhere in the *Poetics* and with the practice of tragedy in general.

First, then, what evidence is there that *περιπέτεια* could bear the special technical sense which Aristotle seems to give it—'the reversal of an agent's intention'; 'a hoist with one's own petard'; 'the issue of action, aimed at a result *x*, in the opposite of *x*'?

In authors after Aristotle, such as Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch, *περιπέτεια* unquestionably means simply 'a vicissitude of fortune,' generally in a bad sense. In authors before Aristotle it does not seem to occur at all. Aristotle himself also uses the word in his *Rhetoric* (I. 11)—a passage inconclusive for our purpose—and in his *History of Animals* (590b, 13), where he relates how the polyp eats the crab, the crab the conger, and the conger

the polyp. This eccentricity Aristotle describes as a *περιπέτεια*; and Bywater and Butcher take this to support their view, the latter translating 'a turn of incident.'

Even if this were right, Aristotle's use of the word here in its later, wider sense would not disprove its special meaning as a term of dramatic criticism in the *Poetics*. But there is a better answer. Surely here, too, we have the hoist with one's own petard, the return of the boomerang—the eater is eaten by its food's food. Change the *dramatis personae* to man, chicken, worm, and you get a touch of life's *macabre* irony, over which Webster might have chuckled and James Thomson actually does. The eater is eaten by what was meat for his meat.

The adjective *περιπετής*, in the literal sense of falling on or round or foul of something, is as old as Aeschylus. Of its metaphorical use these two early instances (all that I can find) are relevant here. In Eur. *Andr.* 983-4 Orestes says to Hermione:

νῦν οὖν ἐπειδὴ περιπετεῖς ἔχεις τύχας
καὶ ξυμφορὰν τήνδ' ἐσπεσοῦς ἀμχανεῖς,
ἄξω σ' ἀπ' οἴκων.

'Now, since your fortunes are reversed, and in your present plight you do not know what to do, I will take you away'—so the traditionalists would render, making *ξυμφορὰν τήνδ' ἐσπεσοῦς* a merely tautologous repetition of *περιπετεῖς ἔχεις τύχας*. Surely it is at least as possible that *περιπετεῖς* had at this date not yet been worn down in circulation to the later indistinctness of the noun, and means here not merely 'reversed,' but 'recoiling on your own head.' Hermione is the biter bit. She has tried to supplant her rival, and brought that danger on herself. As her nurse has just said (810): 'She is afraid lest, having sought to slay those she should not, she be slain herself.' The *peripeteia* in Vahlen's sense is perfect.

So with the other passage, Hdt. VIII. 20. The Euboeans had an oracle of Bakis warning them to remove their herds from their island into safety, 'when the barbarian should cast a yoke of papyrus on to the sea'—a clear allu-

sion to the bridge over the Hellespont. The Euboeans, however, ignored this warning, with the result that they lost their cattle and *περιπετέα ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα*. 'Brought a reversal of fortune on themselves' is the usual rendering; but here, as in Euripides, the subtler meaning seems possible. The Euboeans had a perfectly good oracle, which ought to have saved them, but their stupidity brought about the opposite result. If one could suppose that the Euboeans thought the casting of such a yoke so wildly improbable that instead of being forewarned they were lulled into a false security, it would be one more example of a favourite form of *peripeteia*, best seen perhaps in *Macbeth*. There the usurper is repeatedly fooled by ambiguous prophecies into a confidence that but ensures his ruin; none of woman born shall slay him, and so he rushes into the fight and dies on the sword of Macduff. Herodotus, however, it must be owned, says that the Euboeans 'neglected,' not that they misinterpreted, the oracle; and for true ancient parallels one must look to Croesus crossing the Halys 'to destroy a mighty empire,' or Pyrrhus of Epirus, like Oedipus, misled by a prophecy he was meant to misunderstand.

The evidence of these two examples of *περιπετής* is then inconclusive, though certainly not adverse. The verb *περιπίπτω* is far commoner, but always in the sense, whether literal or metaphorical, of 'falling in' or 'in with' or 'foul of,' rather than of 'falling round to the contrary.' I used to think that the use of *περιπέτεια*, to denote the defeat of an agent's intention by his own action, might be connected with the very frequent reflexive use of *περιπίπτω*, 'to trip oneself up by one's own undoing.'

Cf. Hdt. I. 108, where Astyages says to Harpagus: 'Do what I tell you and don't try to deceive me'—*μηδέ . . . ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σεαυτῷ περιπέσης* (bring destruction on your own head).

Thuc. II. 65, *αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν*.

Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 26, 2, *ὅρα μὴ περιπίπτῃς ἑαυτῷ*.

Aeschin. 47, 13, ἐτόλμησε δ' εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐμῶν λόγοις περιπίπτω.

Gregor. *In Jul.*, οὕτως εὐάλωτον ἐστὶν ἡ πονηρία καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐαυτῇ περιπίπτουσα.

I still think it possible that the 'boomerang' meaning of *peripeteia* may be connected with this use; but on the whole it is less likely to be, literally, 'a falling over oneself' than 'a falling out contrary,' 'a revolution of the whirligig of things,' 'a turning of the tables.' One may compare the technical use in the rhetoricians of *περιτροπή* to signify the device of hoisting an opponent with his own petard in argument. But here Bywater would agree; and we are as far as ever from settling *what* is reversed, the situation or the intention. The linguistic evidence seems to me, when all is said, inconclusive.

The real proof of the pudding lies in the eating; the real test of the meaning of *peripeteia*, since Aristotle's own definition is contested, remains, 'what will make sense?' This is the decisive battle-field, and this is the field which has so far been largely neglected. First, which makes better sense in the *Poetics*?

If *peripeteia* means 'reversal of the situation,' how is it possible for Aristotle to make the presence or absence of π . the basis of his main classification of tragedies (1452a, 12-18) as 'complex' or 'simple'? Can one divide dramas into those where the situation changes and those where it does not? The latter type must be all but non-existent up to M. Maeterlinck's invention of the 'Static Drama.' The *Iliad*, Aristotle's only named example of a 'simple' composition (*i.e.* without *peripeteia*), abounds, as has been pointed out already, in reversals of the situation. The usual way of evading this difficulty is to import, with no justification whatever, the adjective 'sudden.' But how, and why, divide tragedies into those which have sudden changes and those which have gradual ones? Is a play where the catastrophe takes fifty lines 'complex,' one where it takes a hundred 'simple'?

Besides, the *peripeteia* in ch. XI. of the *Poetics* has a logical connexion, which never seems to have been noticed, with the doctrine of the *ἀμαρτία*, or

Tragic Error, in ch. XIII. (XII. being an admitted interpolation), and with the discussion of the various forms of plot in XIV. The *Poetics* may be, in Aristotle's phrase of what Nature is not, 'episodic like a bad tragedy'; but it is not quite so episodic and incoherent as is sometimes assumed.

The *peripeteia* is the working of that irony of Fate which makes life a tragedy of errors, so that we become the authors of our own undoing, like Lear, or like Othello kill the thing we love. Now in ch. XIV. (1453b, 15) Aristotle divides all the possible agents of the tragic calamity into (1) persons indifferent, (2) enemies, (3) friends or kin, and gives the preference to the last case, and to that action in *ignorance* which (unless love has turned to hate, as in the *Medea* or *Phoenissae*) it necessitates. For friends or kin will not ruin one another except through 'knowing not what they do.' The realisation may, Aristotle goes on, come in time (as in the *Cresphontes* and *Iphigeneia in Tauris*) or too late (as in the *Oedipus* or *Sohrab and Rustum*). But the important thing from our point of view is to see that Aristotle is here only confirming, from a different angle, his already expressed preference for the tragedy with *peripeteia* (in Vahlen's sense) and *anagnorisis*, and that there is a real connexion between these two things, which is hopelessly obscured when one talks about 'reversals' and 'recognitions.'

The *peripeteia* is the resulting from *blinded* human effort of the very opposite of its aim. The *anagnorisis* [which it is misleading to render 'recognition' instead of 'discovery'—Aristotle expressly says (1452a, 34-6) that it may be not only of persons, but also of *things* and *facts*] is the realisation of that blindness, the opening of the eyes that Ate, who 'hurts' men's minds, or Fate, or just human weakness had sealed—like the summer lightning that flashed at the supreme moment on David Balfour on the staircase of the House of Shaws.

This has ever been the stuff of the deepest tragedies of life as of literature; men have wrought unwitting,

Then there came

On that blind sin swift eyesight like a flame.

It is fantastic to call this sense of the *peripeteia* 'artificial'; it is the dark main-thread of tragic irony that runs through all the spinning of the Fates, the mockery of the life of man, 'Time's Laughing-stock.'

He weaves and is clothed with derision,
Sows and he shall not reap.

That is the real *peripeteia*, not any mere changing chance of circumstance; more tragic than all the tragedies of accident is the truth that, as Zeus observed long ago, men undo themselves.

Once this is recognised, another unnoticed connexion becomes clear: In XI. are discussed *peripeteia* and *anagnorisis*; in XIV. the effectiveness of tragic action in ignorance; XII. is an interpolation; XIII., discussing the ideal tragic hero, introduces the complementary doctrine of the *ἀμαρτία*, or Tragic Error. The *ἀμαρτία* (I453a, 10) is not necessarily a moral flaw at all, but simply (cf. Bywater *ad loc.*) a mistake. The best tragedy, says Aristotle, is the tragedy not of purposed Evil nor of chance Calamity, but of Error; the *ἀμαρτία* is the blind sowing of the wind, the *περιπέτεια* the whirlwind's reaping.

It should be clear which meaning of *peripeteia* best squares with Aristotle's tragic theory as a whole; compare tragic practice before and since, the result is the same—in poetry from Homer to Swinburne, in drama from *Genesis* to Ibsen. The idea is in Meredith:

In tragic life, God wot,
No villain need be! Passions spin the plot,
We are betrayed by what is false within—

in *Lear* :

The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to plague us—

in one line of Juvenal :

Magnaue numinibus uota exaudita malignis.

Similarly in dramatic practice the *peripeteia* is the essence of that earliest tragedy in Eden, when our first parents plucked the fruit that should make them as God, and 'knew not eating death'; and of the tragedy of Semele, praying to see Zeus in his glory and finding her own destruction. When Dejanira sends her lord the love-philtre that is to make

him hers again, and only makes him Death's; when Oedipus runs headlong into the jaws of the doom he flees; when Jason, seeking a royal bride and other sons, brings his bride to the fire and his own sons to the sword; when Othello,

Like the base Indian,
Threw a pearl away richer than all his tribe;

when Macbeth is lured by jeering spirits to make his own perdition sure—all these are true *peripeties*. There are three at the close of *Hamlet* alone: the King, trying to poison Hamlet, poisons his Queen; trying to have him stabbed, brings the sword on himself; and Laertes dies by his own envenomed foil. There is a similar combination of *anagnorisis* and *peripeteia* at the close of Ibsen's *Doll's House*. 'It burst upon me,' says Nora when her husband has revealed his baseness at the close, 'that I had been living here eight years with a strange man.' And she walks out of the home she had been struggling so desperately to keep.

Such I believe to be the true meaning of *peripeteia*, both because Aristotle says so, and because it fits in with the theory of the *Poetics* and general tragic practice. But before closing I should like to notice that passage about the recognition of Odysseus by Eurycleia, *ἐκ περιπέτειας* (I454b, 29), which Vahlen and Lock have left unexplained. 'By a turn of incident' (Butcher) will not do. This particular kind of *anagnorisis* is no more fortuitous than several of the others; nor would Aristotle, with his dislike of coincidence, have praised it if it were. 'All of a sudden' (Bywater) is even less satisfactory. Surely the point is that we have here, too, a genuine *peripeteia*. Odysseus had himself rejected the ministrations of the other handmaidens, because they were minxes, in favour of some old woman who would wash his feet decently and in peace; he forgot that Eurycleia was the very person who would recognise his scar. His device recoiled on his own head—one *peripeteia* more.

There is nothing more brilliant in the *Poetics* than this recognition by Aristotle of the Tragedy of Error, of the *peripeteia*, as the deepest of all. Life is like that, with its clash of

ignorant armies in the gloom. In vain we pray, like Ajax, to perish at least in the sunlight, seeing the faces of our foes; for the blindness Tiresias taunts in Oedipus is the blindness of all men, knowing not themselves, knowing not what they do.

They have much wisdom, yet they are not wise;
They have much goodness, yet they do not well;
They have much strength, and yet their doom is stronger;
Much patience, yet their time endureth longer;
Much valour, yet life mocks it with some spell.

F. L. LUCAS.

HORACE, EPODE XIII 3.

horrida tempestas caelum contraxit, et imbres
nivesque deducunt Iouem; nunc mare, nunc
silvae

Threicio Aquilone sonant. rapiamus, amici,
occasionem de die, dumque uirent genua
et decet obducta soluatur fronte senectus. 5
tu uina Torquato moue consule pressa meo;
cetera mitte loqui: deus haec fortasse benigna
reducat in sedem uice.

VERSE 3 is usually printed thus, and anyone who reads it imagines for the moment that the poem is addressed to a company of friends, as *carm.* I 27 and 37 are addressed to 'sodales'. At verses 6 sq. he is undeceived: it is addressed to a single person. True, the words *tu uina moue* would not in themselves be irreconcilable with the plural *amici* if a distribution of offices were indicated, and if there followed another *tu* with another injunction, such as *ligna super foco reponere*. But *cetera mitte loqui* is not a command which can be restricted to one of a company; the person so addressed is the only other person present.

Bentley therefore wrote *amice*, Baxter

removed the two commas and made *amici* nominative; both have had several followers, yet neither can be right. For in none of his poems does Horace omit to name the friend whom he addresses, unless in a very different one, *carm.* II 5, where he is probably addressing himself. Scheibe accordingly suggested that *amici* was the corruption of some proper name such as *Apici*. But no corruption needs to be assumed: a proper name is there already, *Amici*. *C.I.L.* X 1403d 3 22 provides *L. Amicius Fortunatus* (from Herculaneum), and XIII 6385 adds *L. Amicius Donatus*. The quantity of the second syllable is visible in *C.I.G.* 3665 15 *Ἀμεικιανός* (the inscription is consistently correct in this particular), and as for the first, no name or word in Latin is known to begin with a long *am-* excepting compounds of the preposition *a*; for *amentum* is but a later spelling of *ammentum*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

AESCHYLUS, AG. 40 FF.

δέκατον μὲν ἔτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου
μέγας ἀντίδικος,
Μενέλαος ἀναξ ἡδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,
διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκῆπτρου
τιμῆς, ὄχυρόν ζεύγος Ἀτρεϊδῶν, κτλ.

If it is still true that *πρὸς δύο οὐδ'* *Ἡρακλῆς*, it is a rash undertaking to question the authority of two editors of the *Classical Review*. But a long familiarity with the text impels me to protest against Professor Calder's analysis of the lines quoted above. The whole trouble arises from Hermann's removal of the comma after *τιμῆς*, which had satisfied the early editors of Aeschylus up to and including Porson and Blomfield, *quos*

honoris causa nomino. Not content with this he added the cryptic remark: *aeque ad τιμῆς pertinet ζεύγος atque ad Ἀτρεϊδῶν*. What exactly he meant I have no notion, but he certainly tempted his successors to indulge in strange contortions: see the notes of Paley, Wecklein, Kennedy, and Sidgwick, which, if space permitted, it would be instructive to quote in full. It is enough to say that whereas Sidgwick calls *τιμῆς* genitive of description after *ζεύγος Ἀτρεϊδῶν* (though he adds mysteriously that *τιμῆς* and *Ἀτρεϊδῶν* are *parallel*, both being dependent on *ζεύγος*), Kennedy holds that *τιμῆς* and

its epithets are in apposition to Ἀτρειδᾶν. Well indeed might Kennedy add: 'The construction is remarkable'!

I cannot, however, think that Professor Calder has chosen a safe path out of this morass by giving to ὄχυρόν an unexampled meaning. Why does he say that τιμῆς cannot be a descriptive genitive depending on the two proper names? That it does not depend on what follows I agree; but put back the comma and there should not be any difficulty in connecting it with what precedes. According to strict analysis I suppose the genitive to rest upon μέγας ἀντίδικος, a collective expression defined and interpreted by the appositional Μενέλαος . . . Ἀγαμέμνων; but I should be loth to assert that a descriptive genitive after a proper name is any more impossible in Greek than in Latin (Hor. C. 1. 36. 13). Goodwin on Demosth. 18. 296 remarks that the genitive of quality is as rare in Greek as it is

common in Latin; but it exists all the same, although largely personal and poetical. If Professor Calder thinks that the presence of εἶναι makes any difference I will not quote Hdt. 1. 107, Aeschin. 3. 168, or even Thuc. 3. 45. But why Hdt. 7. 40 ἄρμα ἵππων Νησαίων, Eur. *Phoen.* 719 τοῦθ' ὄρῳ πολλοῦ πόνου, *ib.* 801 ὃ ζαθέων πετάλων πολυθηρότατον νάπος, Soph. *Ant.* 114 λευκῆς χιόνος πτέρυγι, *El.* 758 μέγιστον σῶμα δειλαίας σποδοῦ, *Ai.* 888 τὸν μακρῶν ἀλάταν πόνων, *ib.* 1003 ὃ δυσθέατον ὄμμα καὶ τόλμης πικρῶς are not a sufficient defence for the use here I cannot understand. I have refrained from citing examples where the dependent noun has no epithet, as in *O.T.* 533. Observe that if the passage is so taken, μέγας ἀντίδικος is triply defined by (1) Μενέλαος . . . Ἀγαμέμνων, (2) διθρόνου . . . τιμῆς, (3) ὄχυρόν ζεύγος Ἀτρειδῶν.

A. C. PEARSON.

MOSSYNOS AND MOSSYNOIKOI.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Μόσσυνον τῆς Θράκης βοῦς, οἱ ἰχθῦς ἐσθίουσι παραβαλλομένους αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς φάτνας (Athenaeus VIII., 35, 345e).

THERE can be no doubt that the reference is to the lake-dwellers of Prasias described by Herodotus V. 16, where the fish in the manger are also mentioned. Zenothemis, an author of whom I know only that Tzetzes grouped him with Pherenicus and Philostephanus as a romantic liar (Müller, *F.H.G.* III., p. 28), asserted that the cattle would only eat live fish and rejected dead ones, Aelian, *De nat. an.* XVII. 30. But this need not discredit Herodotus, for the fish diet of cattle is not unparalleled. In A.D. 1557, the islanders of Vardö in the White Sea had 'small store of catell which were fed on fish.'¹

The fish-eating cattle have identified Mossynos with the lake-dwelling settlement on Prasias; from this it has then been assumed that Mossynos means a pile structure, and that the towers of the Mossynoikoi were of this character.

This appears to be the accepted view (e.g. Stein, *ad Herod.* V. 16, whom How and Wells *ad loc.* are probably following, and Vollbrecht, *Xenophons Anabasis*, III., p. 163); the assumption, however, does not bear examination.

The Mossynoikoi, who inhabited the district behind Kerasund and Trebizond, were known to Hecataeus (Steph. Byz. s.v. Χοιράδες), and appear in the Persian administration and army lists (Herod. III. 94, VII. 78). Xenophon had dealings with them, and has described them in some detail (*Anab.* V. 4). Apollonius Rhodius II. 1015 ff. draws upon Xenophon and, either directly or through his elder contemporary Nymphodorus, upon Ephorus (see Scholiast on l. 1029). Indeed, except for the historical incident recorded by Strabo, and a worthless addition by Nicolas of Damascus (*Frag.* 126, *F.H.G.* III., p. 461), which is obviously coloured by the conventional virtues of the gentle savage, there is nothing in later authors which may not be derived from Xenophon or Ephorus.²

¹ Anthony Jenkinson in Hakluyt, *Voyages* (Glasgow, 1903), ii., p. 416.

² Valerius Flaccus V. 150, Pliny *N.H.* VI. 4, Mela I. 19, Suidas s.v. Μόσσυνες add nothing

Strabo XII. 19, 549 notes that the name Mossynoikoi was then obsolete, their modern name being Heptakometai, and he tells us that they massacred two maniples of Pompey's army whom they succeeded in drugging with the 'maddening' honey of the district. Dionysius of Halicarnassus I 26 uses the analogy of the Mossynoikoi to support his theory that the Etruscans took their name from *τύρσεις* 'towers.'

All our authors agree that this extremely primitive and savage people lived in towers, *πύργοι*, from which they took their name. Two peculiarities of these structures attracted their attention—(1) their material, which was wood; (2) their height, which according to Diodorus XIV. 30, 6 attained seven stories. While it is not impossible that they were erected on piles I can find no hint that they were, unless it be the phrase of Dionysius *ἐπὶ ξύλινους, ὥσπερὰν πύργοις, ὑψηλοῖς σταυρώμασι*. Again, Xenophon's account suggests that *mossynoi* were detached structures¹ not at all like a *terra-mara*, or a lake settlement, built upon a common platform; conversely these latter cannot have looked in the least like a tower. Indeed, had it not been for the passage in Athenaeus it would hardly have entered anybody's head that *mossynos* meant a pile structure.

Again, the life of these Pontic mountaineers was not that of lake dwellers. It is true that there were settlements in the marshes of the Phasis, which con-

to our purpose. There are two curious but unconvincing glosses in Hesychius, *s.v.v.* *Μοσσυνικά μαζονομία* and *Μοσσύνοι*, which go back to Didymus.

¹ It is even probable that the *mossyns* were not dwelling-houses but timber structures in the village, which served as refuges in case of attack. Thus each village of the Ossetes, a border folk of Iran, is said to contain one or more square towers, 40 to 60 feet high, built of stone, into which the inhabitants flee in time of danger. Klaproth, *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*, II. (1814), p. 609, and Koch, *Reise durch Russland nach dem kaukasischen Isthmus in den Jahren 1836-7-8*, II. (1843) pp. 15, 113, quoted by E. Lidén, 'Folknamnet Mossynoiker,' *Strena Philologica Upsaliensis, Festskrift tillägnad Professor Per Persson*, 1922. I owe not only the reference, but also a summary of the contents of this paper, to the kindness of Mr. E. Harrison.

sisted of *οἰκήματα ξύλινα καὶ καλάμυνα ἐν ὕδασι μεμνηχανημένα* (Hippocrates, *περὶ ἀέρων*, 15, 61), presumably reed huts upon a wooden platform, but though Vollbrecht arbitrarily states that their inhabitants are without doubt a branch of the same people as the Mossynoikoi, the accounts of the two peoples show nothing at all in common except the use of canoes (*μονόξυλα*). The Mossynoikoi indeed selected the tops of ridges in an exceptionally precipitous country for their settlements, and Xenophon describes how they shouted across the narrow but deep valleys from village to village, and could thus communicate, though the distance to walk was upon the average about ten miles.

Of what race were these people, and is their name Greek? The word Mossynos, which Ramsay, *Cities and Bishopricks*, I., p. 143, regards as Anatolian or Scythian,² occurs elsewhere in Asia Minor. There is a Mossyna upon the Maeander in Phrygia, which is known from inscriptions and Byzantine records (Ramsay, *op. cit.*, I., pp. 122 ff.), and Pliny N.H. V. 126 mentions Mossyni in the *conventus* of Pergamum. Further, Athenaeus' statement, that Mossynos was a place-name in Thrace, is confirmed by the Thracian bishops of Mosynopolis in the ninth century after Christ, who are mentioned by Ramsay, *op. cit.* I., p. 158. In Xenophon's description of the war-dance and equipment of the Mossynoikoi there is nothing inconsistent with a Thracian origin, and like the Thracians they tattooed designs upon their white skins. Other peoples, it is true, have practised tattooing, and by itself this evidence is not conclusive, but at least it does not diminish the probability of their belonging to the Thraco-Phrygian stock.

That they were not Greeks is already clear in Herodotus, and they did not speak Greek. Xenophon, it will be remembered, had to employ an interpreter. It would therefore seem natural to suppose, in spite of Lidén, that *mossyn*, which is clearly a native word,

² The Scythian Mossynoikoi must rest upon the rather unconvincing gloss on *Μόσσυνος* in Hesychius, *ἐπάλξεις, πύργοι καὶ ἔθνος Σκυθικόν*.

was not Greek. It is, however, pretty certain both that it is Indo-Germanic, and that it means 'tower.' For although there seems to be no reference to any similar buildings in the other places with which the word is connected, the towers of the Ossete villages are called *mäsug* (West-Ossetic) or *mäsig* (East-Ossetic), which Lidén derives from an Old-Iranian **masū*-. I am less certain about the latter part of the word. Professor Calder,¹ to whom I owe the

¹ Professor Calder points out that the etymology favoured by the Greeks involves two con-

Anatolian references above, suggests that the *-oikoi* is simply the Greek spelling of a Pontic ethnicon, and has nothing to do with *oikos*. There is no doubt of course that the Greeks took the word to mean 'dwellers in mos-syns,' but Greek etymology in such matters was not impeccable. I am personally inclined to think that Professor Calder's view is the more probable.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

siderable assumptions — viz., that the word corresponding to *oikos* in another Indo-Germanic language (a) lost the *F*, and (b) meant 'house.'

NOTES ON THE YOUNGER PLINY AND APULEIUS.

PLINY, *Panegy.* 75. 6: 'quid nunc ego super ea, quae sum cum toto senatu precatus, pro senatu precer, nisi ut haereat animo tuo gaudium, quod tunc oculis protulisti, ames illum diem, et tamen uincas, noua merearis, noua audias? eadem enim dici nisi facta non possunt.'

The last sentence is universally emended. Some add (after 'nisi') 'ob eadem' — 'eadem enim dici nisi <ob eadem> facta non possunt.' This is intolerably flat. Baehrens wrote 'nisi facta <noua assunt> non possunt.' This gives the right sort of sense for the final sentence: it is suitably paradoxical, but it is inconsistent with the preceding 'noua audias.' I suggest that Pliny wrote 'quid nunc . . . precer, nisi ut . . . noua merearis, [noua] audias <eadem>? eadem enim dici nisi facta <noua assunt> non possunt,' 'that you may win new laurels and hear the old praises: for the old praises can only be repeated if new deeds have been done.' Perhaps 'nisi <ob noua> facta' is an easier correction than that of Baehrens.

Pliny, *Panegy.* 90. 6: 'habuerat hunc honorem periculis nostris diuus Nerua, ut nos, etsi minus ut bonos, promouere uellet, quia mutati saeculi signum et hoc esset, quod florerent, quorum praecipuum uotum antea fuerat, ut memoria principis elaberentur.'

The phrase 'etsi minus ut bonos' has long been suspected, though Keil and Kukula accept it. Lipsius read

'etsi minus notos, ut bonos tamen promouere uellet.' A simpler and more effective change is to insert 'quam ut bonus' after 'ut bonos': 'although his action was less an illustration of our virtues than of his own.'

Apuleius, *Metam.* VI. 22. 'interea Cupido amore nimio peresus et aegra facie, matris suae repentinam sobrietatem pertimescens, ad armillum redit, etc.'

Venus' sobriety is not obvious at any point of the story. In Chapter II she was reeling drunk. But shortly before she got drunk she resolved to call in her pet aversion, Sobriety: 'petamne auxilium ab inimica mea Sobrietate, quam propter huius ipsius luxuriam offendi saepius? a[u]t rusticae squalentisque feminae conloquium prorsus [adhibendum est] horresco. nec tamen uindictae solacium undeunde spernendum est. illa mihi prorsus adhibenda est nec ulla alia, quae castiget asperrime nugonem istum, faretram explicet et sagittas dearmet, arcum enodet, taedam deflammet, immo et ipsum corpus eius acrioribus remediis coherceat' (V. 30, Helm's text). It is plain that Cupid has every reason to dread Sobriety, who has not yet come upon the scene; and it is plain also that Sobriety is a definite person, as real as Venus' handmaids Sollicitudo and Tristities, who punish Psyche for her in VI. 9. Venus does not express the intention of turning sober herself. I suggest, therefore, that in VI. 22 we should print Sobrieta-

tem, and insert some noun after 'repentinam.' The most suitable word is 'sociam'—'matris suae repentinam <sociam> Sobrietatem.' The metaphor exactly fits the passage from V. 30 quoted above, and the omission is easily intelligible. The scribe's eye passed from AMSO to AMSO—'repentin AMSO ci AMSO brietatem.' Some early editors printed Sobrietatem, and Oudendorp (as I discovered after making my emendation) suggested, though he did not print, '<seruam> or <seruulam> Sobrietatem': but Hildebrand ridiculed the suggestion, and since 1842 it seems to have been wholly forgotten. I think 'sociam' is preferable in sense, and also palaeographically, to 'seruam' or 'seruulam.'

Apuleius, *Metam.* VIII. 8. (the opening of the speech addressed by the murdered Tlepolemus' mutilated ghost to his wife Charite): 'Mi coniux, quod tibi prorsus ab alio dici non licebit: etsi pectore tuo iam permanat nostri memoria uel acerbæ mortis meae casus foedus caritatis intercidit,—quouis alio felicius maritare, modo ne in Thrasylli manum sacrilegam conuenias.' The

'permanat' of the eleventh century MS. F (the source of all the rest) is obviously wrong; but the only suggestions which give a satisfactory sense are palaeographically improbable: for instance, Helm's 'permarcet,' and Gaselee's 'perimitur' (reading also 'pectori').

I suggest 'permanca.' The word is not found, but Latin is full of 'per' compounds of this type, which often occur no more than once. Cicero has a very great number, and Apuleius is fond of them. The metaphorical use of 'mancus' occurs several times in Cicero's writings; and the word is very appropriate to the mangled Tlepolemus. Perhaps preferable to 'permanca' is the suggestion 'perit manca,' made to me by Mr. E. Harrison. Palaeographically, in Beneventan (the script of F, and probably of F's immediate ancestor) 'ca' and 'at' are extremely close. F shows many certain instances of the confusion of both 'a' and 'c' with 't.' Helm has collected examples in the preface to his *Florida*, 1910, pp. xli ff. Probably 'in' should be inserted before 'pectore tuo.'

D. S. ROBERTSON.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS X. 60.

It is remarkable that in the Epistle to Herodotus (*D.L.* x. 35-83) the downward tendency of the atom is not explicitly stated. Before § 60 the atoms have been declared to be in incessant motion (§ 43); two species of motion have been mentioned, both implying previous collision—namely, (a) vibration or oscillation of the imprisoned atom, (b) rebound of the unimprisoned atom to a distance whether in a lateral or an upward direction (§§ 43, 44). There is no explicit mention by Epicurus in this Epistle of either fall or swerve. However, in § 61 (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 19, 1 and 2), the downward motion (ἡ κάτω φορά), due to weight, is incidentally mentioned and contrasted with the upward or lateral motions, due to collision. Now the drift of § 60 is perfectly plain. On the assumption that Epicurus held the doctrine that the atom, like everything else possessed of weight, tends to move

in a certain empirically determined direction—or, as we say, to fall downwards—he is in § 60 attempting to meet the objection raised by Aristotle and others against Democritus, that in what is unlimited there is no up or down. Aristotle asks, *Physics* iii. 5. 205 b 30 πῶς τοῦ ἀπείρου ἔσται τὸ μὲν ἄνω, τὸ δὲ κάτω, ἢ ἔσχατον, ἢ μέσον; cf. iv. 8, 215 a 8, where he answers his own query; also Cicero *de finibus* i. § 17 'in infinito inani, in quo nihil nec summum nec infimum nec medium nec intimum nec extremum sit.' This Epicurus grants if 'up' and 'down' are used in an absolute sense, as implying a zenith or nadir, a highest or lowest extremity, of the universe. But he goes on to defend the use of the terms in a relative sense, and to deny that the same direction can be at once both 'up' and 'down' with reference to the same point of space. The first sentence and the latter part of the

section, which present little difficulty, may be translated thus:

'Furthermore, we must not assert "up" or "down" of that which is unlimited as if there were a zenith or a nadir. . . .' Going on at ὥστε ἔστι (Usener, p. 18, 8): 'Hence it is possible to assume one direction of motion, which we conceive as extending upwards *ad infinitum*, and another downwards, even if it should happen ten thousand times that what moves from us to the spaces above our heads reaches the feet of those above us, or that which moves downwards from us the heads of those below us. None the less is it true that the whole of the motion in the respective cases is conceived as extending in opposite directions *ad infinitum*.' So much is clear. But the intermediate sentence (Usener, p. 18, lines 5-8) does not appear to have been, as yet, made out. Cobet had read ἴσμεν τοι τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ἂν θῶμεν εἰς ἄπειρον ἄγειν ὃν, μηδέποτε φανείσθαι τοῦτο ἡμῖν, ἢ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ νοηθέντος εἰς ἄπειρον ἅμα ἄνω τ' εἶναι καὶ κάτω πρὸς τὸ αὐτό. But his translation (*istud* for τοῦτο) does not inform us what it is that the 'space overhead' will 'appear.' Usener has εἰς μέντοι τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ἂν στῶμεν, εἰς ἄπειρον τείνον μηδέποτε φανείσθαι τοῦτο ἡμῖν. κ.τ.λ., substituting a colon at ἡμῖν for Cobet's comma.

With this Tescari agrees, his punctuation being the same, except that instead of Usener's emendation τείνον he keeps ἄγειν ὃν of two inferior MSS. and the *editio princeps* for which the better MSS. give ἄγειν ὃν. In my judgement Usener is right in introducing μέντοι, but wrong in rejecting ἴσμεν and ἄγειν ὃν. Bignone (*Épicuro*, p. 95, note 1) puts in parenthesis εἰς μέντοι . . . ἡμῖν, while retaining ἄγειν and adding <νοοῦσι, δηλ>ον, in place of ὃν. He then translates: 'If, however, from any point where we are, we proceed, in thought, *ad infinitum* overhead, it is clear that we shall never find this limit,' i.e. the zenith. Kochalsky, p. 67, has no better resource than to bracket ἄγειν ὃν, which he says must go (as a duplicate of ἄπειρον), and to read <ἐλπ>ις μέντοι instead of Usener's εἰς μέντοι. But his objection that Usener's τείνον

requires at least τι before it seems to me sound.

First I will call attention to the repetition of the disjunctive, 18. 4 τὸ ἄνω ἢ κάτω, 18. 6 τοῦτο ἢ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ νοηθέντος εἰς ἄπειρον, 18. 12 πρὸς τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἐπάνω . . . ἀφικνῆται ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τῶν ὑποκάτω. In all three cases Epicurus seems pedantically anxious to include in a single clause terms suitable either to 'up' or to 'down.' The two directions go together. Accordingly, τοῦτο after φανείσθαι in 18. 6 I take to refer to something above us; not Bignone's zenith, but τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς (l. 5). In other words, τοῦτο is resumptive and subject, not predicate, of φανείσθαι. When this has been settled, the rest falls into place. A future infinitive must have some verb to depend upon; even Bignone introduces νοοῦσι. But there is no need. The Borbonicus, our best MS., reads ἴσμεν τοι, not εἰς μέντοι. But the punctuation requires revision. A comma, or even a dash, after ἡμῖν, and a second comma or a complementary dash after ἄπειρον (l. 7), will enable us to take ἅμα ἄνω τε εἶναι καὶ κάτω πρὸς τὸ αὐτό as the complement of φανείσθαι, applying just as much to τοῦτο = τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς as to its other subject after ἢ, namely, τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ νοηθέντος εἰς ἄπειρον. Thus I take the text of the best MS., with a single alteration μέντοι for τοι, and translate:

'As to the space overhead, however, if it be possible to draw a line to infinity from the point where we stand, we know that never will this space—or, for that matter, the space below the supposed standpoint if produced to infinity—appear to us to be at the same time "up" and "down" with reference to the same point; for this is inconceivable.'

With ἄγειν ὃν, 'it being possible to draw,' cf. ἔστι μίαν λαβεῖν, Usener 18. 8 and 9. There is no need then to alter ὃν into ἐξόν with Giussani (*Studi*, p. 168). With τὸ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς it is possible to understand 'point,' or 'space,' or merely 'region'—that is, direction. Those editors who retain the colon after ἡμῖν generally make τοῦτο the predicate, understanding by τοῦτο the apex or zenith of the

universe—i.e., a point or extremity. But if we compare p. 18, 12 (Usener) εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἡμῶν τόπους we shall incline to supply 'space' rather than 'point.' I confess I cannot follow the latest German translator, who adopts Usener's εἰς μέντοι κ.τ.λ. and treats ἡ as introducing a *reductio ad absurdum*='or else.' Thus he renders the whole sentence: 'In the upward direction overhead from a point arbitrarily chosen, this highest point will never be visible to us; or else what is

underneath the imaginary <line> running to infinity is then both above and below with reference to the same point.' I leave others to judge whether this is a cogent conclusion. My own interpretation makes Epicurus say: 'If we could get to infinity in either direction, whether overhead or underfoot, this same infinity will be either up or down—it cannot possibly be both up and down—in reference to the same point.'

R. D. HICKS.

THE POLITICAL SYMPATHIES OF SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS.

As we read the famous letter of condolence which Servius Sulpicius Rufus wrote to Cicero on the death of Tullia, the writer impresses us as a conservative of Cicero's type, who is accepting with dignity but perforce and in deep sorrow the inevitable rule of the victor, Caesar. It is, then, with some surprise that we find Long¹ classifying him as apparently a 'partisan of Caesar,' Heitland² counting him as finally a Caesarian, and Strachan-Davidson³ describing him as a weakling who was too timid to join Cicero's flight to Pompey, and had so far committed himself to Caesar's side that he had to count as a Caesarian. On the other hand, Boissier⁴ puts him with the Pompeians, Tyrrell and Purser⁵ recognise his Pompeian sympathies, while Watson,⁶ Süpfle-Boeckel⁷ and, apparently, Abbott⁸ regard him as a neutral.

A brief examination of the evidence shows how such a divergence of opinion might arise among casual readers of Cicero's letters; but a wider survey of the material as a whole leaves one

fairly certain about the political sympathies of this interesting man.

The pieces of evidence which have led good scholars to place him on Caesar's side are not numerous; furthermore, they appear on their face to be more conclusive than they prove to be on examination.

In the year 51 B.C. Sulpicius, as consul, took the part of Caesar against his colleague, Marcellus, who was the enemy of Caesar and a partisan of Pompey. Dio says⁹ that Sulpicius did this in the interests of fair play; in other words, as an honest man with deep respect for law would naturally do.

Much more positive is the next piece of evidence. At the end of March or in early April, 49 B.C., Sulpicius' son is in the camp of Caesar, which is besieging Pompey at Brundisium. Furthermore, Cicero says¹⁰ that the youth was sent by his father *ad effligendum Pompeium aut certe capiendum cum Pontio Titiniano*. About April 5 Sulpicius himself seems to have entered Caesar's senate—not very willingly, however, for he and Tullus complain that Caesar has not excused them from this duty as he had excused Cicero. Cicero regards¹¹ their objections to entering the senate as ridiculous, in view of the fact that they had already done something much more serious, viz., had sent their sons *ad Cn. Pom-*

¹ Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, III (1864), p. 946.

² *Pro Murena*² (1876), pp. 14-15.

³ *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic*, p. 337.

⁴ *Cicero and His Friends*,² p. 296.

⁵ *The Correspondence of Cicero*, 4, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.

⁶ *Cicero, Select Letters*³ (1881), *ad Fam.* 4, 2.

⁷ *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae Selectae*¹⁰ (1893), *ad Fam.* 4, 1.

⁸ *Selected Letters of Cicero* (1897), *ad Fam.* 6, 6, 10 and 4, 5.

⁹ Dio 40, 59 (see, however, Boissier, *l. c.*); cf. Suet. *Div. Iulius*, 29.

¹⁰ *Ad Att.* 9, 19, 2; cf. 9, 9, 1; 9, 18, 2.

¹¹ *Ad Att.* 10, 3a, 2.

peium circumsedendum. However, these two unqualified statements, that Sulpicius sent his son to besiege Pompey, lose something of their weight when we discover the passage,¹ written to Atticus a few days later, in which Cicero appears to refer to Sulpicius (though not by name) as *istum qui filium Brundisium de pace misit*, and then he adds *de pace idem sentio quod tu, simulationem esse apertam, parari autem acerrime bellum*. Now we know that at about this time the senate was ordering that ambassadors be sent to Pompey concerning peace.² Of course, we also know that such *legati* were never sent;³ but, in view of this action of the senate in authorising the embassy and in view of Sulpicius' deep desire for peace, it⁴ is not impossible to believe that Cicero had spoken too positively when he charged Sulpicius with sending his son against Pompey, and that in this passage he was unjust in discarding so scornfully the motive of a mission of peace. Indeed, the rest of Cicero's sceptical remark,⁵ in spite of some uncertainty in the text, gives colour to the conjecture that a slight jealousy of Sulpicius led Cicero to discredit the good intentions of his friend.

Tyrrell and Purser make the interesting suggestion⁶ that the person really responsible for the presence of young Servius in Caesar's army was not his father but his 'restless and energetic' mother, Postumia. They cite no evidence for this conjecture, but we know⁷ that Postumia was among those well-known women whose relations

with Julius Caesar were the subject of unpleasant comment, and whom he always seemed able to keep inspired with eager concern for his fortunes. But whatever the influence which sent the youth to Brundisium, he was apparently back again in about a month.⁸ Early in May Sulpicius visits Cicero to consult with him about their duty in the crisis, especially about following Pompey, and is evidently embarrassed by the fact of his son's recent service at Brundisium.⁹

The fact that Sulpicius entered Caesar's senate in the spring of 49 B.C. does not necessarily place him among Caesar's partisans. That would depend entirely upon what he said and how he voted there. We know that Caesar encountered opposition from the senate; for example, Caelius writes¹⁰ *iratus senatui exiit, his intercessionibus plane incitatus est*. In that famous interview at Formiae, when Caesar vainly tried to persuade Cicero to go to Rome and attend his senate, Cicero explains¹¹ what he should have to say, if he went: "I shall speak along this line, that the senate does not approve an expedition into Spain, nor sending armies into Greece, and I shall express great regret concerning Pompey." To this Caesar replied, "Of course, I do not wish that sort of thing said." "So I thought," said I, "but I cannot be present on this account, because either I must say these things and many things which I could not pass over if I were there, or I cannot come." Now, we know¹² that Sulpicius felt about peace and about the expedition to Spain exactly as Cicero felt. Whether Sulpicius actually voiced this feeling in the senate we do not know certainly. Süpfle-Boeckel¹³ and Eduard Meyer¹⁴ say that he did, but it is possible that the passage¹⁵ which is cited as proof does not imply so much as that.

¹ *Ad Att.* 10, 1, 4.

² *Ad Att.* 10, 3.

³ Dio implies (41, 16) that Caesar was responsible for their failure to go. Caesar himself says (*De Bello Civili*, 33) that on account of fear no one could be found to serve as *legatus*: *Pompeius enim discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat eodem se habiturum loco qui Romae remansissent et qui in castris Caesaris fuissent*.

⁴ *Ad Fam.* 4, 2, 3; 4, 3, 1; 6, 1, 6.

⁵ The whole passage reads: *Istum qui filium Brundisium de pace misit (de pace idem sentio quod tu, simulationem esse apertam, parari autem acerrime bellum), me legatum iri non arbitror, cuius adhuc, ut optavi, mentio facta nulla sit.—ad Att.* 10, 1, 4. Cf. Drumann-Groebe, *Geschichte Roms*², 3, 397-398.

⁶ *The Correspondence of Cicero*, 4, p. lxxviii.

⁷ Suet. *Div. Iulius*, 50: cf. Boissier, *Cicero and his Friends*², pp. 295-296.

⁸ *Ad Fam.* 4, 2, 1.

⁹ *Ad Att.* 10, 14, 3.

¹⁰ *Ad Fam.* 8, 16, 1.

¹¹ *Ad Att.* 9, 18 1.

¹² *Ad Fam.* 4, 1, 1.

¹³ *M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae Selectae*¹⁰ (1893), *ad Fam.* 4, 1.

¹⁴ *Caesars Monarchie u. das Principat des Pompeius*² (1919), p. 350.

¹⁵ *Ad Fam.* 4, 1, 2 (sic! 4, 1, 1): *cui quidem ego, cum me rogaret ut adessem in senatu, eadem omnia, quae a te de pace et de Hispaniis dicta sunt, ostendi me esse dicturum*.

The remaining argument of those who would place Sulpicius among Caesar's partisans is the fact of his acceptance at Caesar's hands of the governorship of Achaia in 46 B.C. But Caesar's offer of the post is no proof of Sulpicius' Caesarian sympathies; it is rather to be set down to that wise, pacific policy of Caesar of which Cicero has often spoken and which he illustrates once more in the following passage,¹ where he groups together some conspicuous cases of former enemies whom the victor has chosen to honour; *at nos quem ad modum est complexus! Cassium sibi legavit, Brutum Galliae praefecit, Sulpicium Graeciae, Marcellum, cui maxime suscebat, cum summa illius dignitate restituit*. Sulpicius seems to have accepted the office only after careful deliberation, and later to have had misgivings as to the wisdom of his decision,² but Cicero is sure that the decision was advantageous for Sulpicius and for the people concerned.³

The trend of all the remaining evidence is plainly this. Sulpicius foresees⁴ civil war as early as 51 B.C. and he hates it.⁵ He is conservative by training and temperament,⁶ preferring the *bona causa*, but feeling no more confidence in Pompey than in Caesar.⁷ As late as May 8, 49 B.C. he is consulting Cicero concerning their duty,⁸ as if, having maintained his neutrality so far, he could still choose his course of action. This is after his son's expedition to Brundisium and his own appearance in Caesar's senate. Whether he finally went to Pompey's camp in Greece is uncertain. A single passage in the thirteenth Philippic⁹ is

¹ *Ad Fam.* 6, 6, 10.

² *Ad Fam.* 4, 4, 2 and 5.

³ *Ad Fam.* 4, 4, 2 and 5; 13, 28a.

⁴ *Ad Fam.* 4, 1, 1; 4, 3, 1.

⁵ *Ad Fam.* 6, 1, 6.

⁶ *Cic. Brut.*, 151-156; *pro Murena*, 15-53.

⁷ *Ad Att.* 10, 14, 1.

⁸ *Ad Att.* 10, 14.

⁹ End of s. 28, s. 29. For use of *senatus* (s. 28) as equivalent to *castra*, see s. 26. Hofmann-Sternkopf *Ausgewählte Briefe von M. Tullius Cicero* [1898], introd. note to Ep. 18 [*ad Fam.* 4, 2] think that Sulpicius was at Pompey's camp: King (*Phil.* 13, 28) and Süpfle-Boeckel (*op. cit.*, introd. note to Ep. 80) say he was not; Watson (*op. cit.*, Ep. 99, s. 3)

the only evidence on this point, and scholars differ as to its interpretation. But, whether Sulpicius ever went to Pompey's camp or not, the passage in question includes him in a group of ten *consulares*, all the rest of whom were recognised Pompeians, and it concludes with the following words: *certe iis consularibus non esset Pompeianus despiciendus senatus*.

That he ultimately came to regard himself as an opponent of Caesar would seem to be indicated by the fact that after Pharsalia he withdrew to Asia:¹⁰ in 47 B.C. we find him lecturing on *ius pontificium* at Samos.¹¹ Why did he leave Italy if he felt in sympathy with the victor? It was in the east that the vanquished Pompeians were gathering to make a new stand against Caesar or to await amnesty at his hands.

The more one studies the conflict of 49 B.C. the more comprehensible becomes the hesitation of thoughtful men to commit themselves to either side. The reactions of Servius Sulpicius Rufus were remarkably like those of Cicero. If Sulpicius did not actually go so far as Cicero in following Pompey to Greece, we have only to remember that probably Cicero would not have done so but for that tremendous sense of personal obligation to Pompey as the man who had brought about his recall from exile.¹² Both Sulpicius and Cicero longed for peace. As between the leaders, Caesar and Pompey, they found little to choose; but to identify oneself with those lawless elements which were rallying under Caesar's banner must have seemed to the great jurist, even more than we know it seemed to the orator,¹³ a betrayal of the cause of constitutional government, to which both were at heart devoted.

Servius Sulpicius Rufus is conspicuous among the men of all time for the respect and honour in which he was

regards the matter as doubtful. The only references of Cicero to Sulpicius' feeling about following Pompey indicate the greatest hesitation to do so: see, e.g., *Cic. ad Att.* 10, 14, 1 and 3.

¹⁰ *Ad Att.* 11, 7, 4; *ad Fam.* 4, 5, 4.

¹¹ *Cic. Brut.* 156.

¹² *Ad Att.* 8, 15, 2; 9, 11a, 2; 9, 7, 4; etc.

¹³ *Ad Att.* 7, 3, 5; 9, 18, 2; 9, 19, 1.

held by his contemporaries. That he was not lacking in courage when he had a clear conviction of duty is proved not only by this reputation, but also by his last public act, when, knowing that it was at the peril of his life, he set out for Mutina on a mandate from the

senate, as Cicero says,¹ 'not refusing to try with his last breath if he might bring some aid to his country.'

CATHARINE SAUNDERS.

Vassar College.

¹ *Phil.* 9, 2.

ARISTOPHANES, *BIRDS* 700.

πρότερον δ' οὐκ ἦν γένος ἀθανάτων, πρὶν Ἐρως συνέμιξεν ἅπαντα.

THE point I wish to make has probably occurred to others, but I have not found this line examined in detail in any edition. It is recognised that the opening of the Parabasis contains, besides Hesiodic and Orphic elements, some borrowings from the philosophers; so Merry (on 684 ff.) refers to 'the dicta of the Ionian physicists, of Empedocles and Anaxagoras.' Other editors refer to Anaxagoras for line 700. The scholiast makes no suggestion.

συνέμιξεν may recall the Anaxagorean fragment (17 Mull.) οὐδὲν γὰρ χρήμα γίνεται οὐδὲ ἀπόλλυται, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἐόντων χρημάτων συμμισγεται καὶ διακρίνεται. But this applies to the γενέσεις of present existence; the primal function of νοῦς in dealing with chaos was not to mix, but the reverse—μοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε (Diog. Laert. II. 3).

The resemblance to Empedocles' thought is much stronger. In his system, Φιλότης mingles into an undifferentiated mass the unmixed ῥιζώματα which are conversely separated out by Νείκος. It is during the intermediate stages of either world-process that organised life becomes possible; and the effect of the advance of Φιλότης is mentioned in several fragments.

202 (Mull.) αἰψά δὲ θνήτ' ἐγένοντο τὰ πρὶν μάθον ἀθάνατ' εἶναι.

184 τῶν δὲ τε μογομένων χεῖρ' ἔθνεα μυρία θνητῶν, | παντοίης ιδέειν ἀρηρότα, θάυμα ιδέσθαι.

310 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μείζον ἐμίσητο δαίμονι δαίμων, | ταῦτά τε συμπίπτεισκεν, θῆη συνέκυρσεν ἕκαστα, | ἄλλα τε πρὸς τοῖς πολλὰ διηνεκὴ ἐξεγένοντο.

68 ἄλλοτε μὲν Φιλότητι συνερχόμεν' εἰς ἐν ἅπαντα. . . .

Here ἀθάνατα and δαίμονες are the unmixed ῥιζώματα, and θνητὰ the temporary 'mortal aggregates.' Empedocles has no place for a theogony, and obviously Aristophanes' γένος ἀθανάτων is not an echo of him but of Hesiod. But these fragments seem a reasonable source of the phrase Ἐρως συνέμιξεν ἅπαντα.

Empedocles calls the combining force Φιλότης, Ἀφροδίτη or Κύπρις. He does not use Ἐρως in any of the extant fragments. But, given this diversity of names, it would seem quite characteristic of Aristophanes to prefer Ἐρως where the rest of his passage demands it. Cf. *Clouds* 379, where the περιχώρησις of Anaxagoras appears as Δίνος—τὸν Δι' ἐξέληλακώς.

DOROTHY TARRANT.

INTERLINEAR HIATUS IN THE ODES OF HORACE.

VERRALL (*Studies in Horace*, pp. 173 ff.) asserts that Horace, especially when writing in Sapphics, is very careful to observe synapheia, save for 'deviations . . . permitted or required by the sense,' i.e. interlinear hiatus is admitted if, and only if, there is a decided break in the structure, caused by a change of subject (as I. iii. 8) or an emotional pause (as III. xi. 50). As this misleading statement does not appear to have been contradicted, at least in a form readily available to British students, it seems worth while briefly to give the facts of the case.

Synapheia is neglected, i.e. a line of an ode ends in a vowel alone or followed by —m when the next line begins with a vowel or h, 143 times in the 3,094 lines of the odes (text of Wickham-Garrod). This includes the *Carmen Saeculare*. The average per 100 lines is 4·6 instances, which shows a tendency to avoid such hiatus, for four random samples of 100 hexameters each from Horace and Vergil give from 8 to 14 instances, notwithstanding the fact that both authors occasionally treat the hexameter as having synapheia (as *Sat.* I. ii. 62; *Aen.* VI. 602). Of these 143 instances, 49 occur in Alcaics, or 51 if we read *altriciis* for *nutricis* in III. iv. 11, *Aetnam* for *Aetnen*, *ibid.* 76. This is 3·8 per cent. (4·02 per cent.). There are 37, or 4·2 per cent., in Sapphics; 44, or 5·3 per cent., in Asclepiadics; and 13, or 7·2 per cent., in other metres. By far the commonest hiatus is at the end of a stanza; if we deduct these cases, there remain but 73 instances in all, the percentage for the various metres being then 2·05, 2·3, 2·5, and 3·7. Under 'stanza' is included couplet in the 'second' Asclepiadic odes and such pieces as I. iv., vii., viii. In all positions, synapheia is most likely to be neglected after a long syllable; this accounts for some 75 per cent. of the examples. Punctuation does not seem to matter; a dozen instances or so coincide with a change in the subject-matter, and the example above given of an emotional break is the only one we can find.

Horace clearly liked this neglect of synapheia less as he grew older. The first book has, within the stanza or couplet, 40 cases of it; the second, 14; the third, 12 only, despite its length; the fourth, 7. In other words, the early work has more cases than all the rest.

The instances which we have found are as follows, and are analysed in the subjoined table:

Alcaics:

- I. ix. 7, 14; xvi. 16, 27; xvii. 6, 13, 16, 25; xxxi. 5, 14; xxv. 9, 12, 32, 38; xxxvii. 11.
 II. i. 12; iii. 12, 24; v. 9; ix. 3, 12; xiii. 4, 7, 8, 11, 21, 26, 28; xiv. 3; xvii. 4, 20; xix. 31.
 III. ii. 17, 24; iii. 8, 40; iv. 4, (9), 16, 28, 72, (76); v. 10, 11, 12, 24, 36, 46; xxiii. 16.
 IV. iv. 4; xv. 10.
 49 (51) examples in 1,268 lines.

Sapphics:

- I. ii. 6, 16, 41, 47; xii. 4, 6, 7, 8, 25, 31, 40; xxii. 15; xxv. 18; xxx. 6; xxxii. 12.
 II. ii. 6; iv. 6; vi. 8, 12; viii. 8, 16; x. 4; xvi. 5, 28.
 III. viii. 8; xi. 29, 32, 50; xiv. 4; xx. 8; xxvii. 10, 33, 36, 48.
 IV. vi. 12; xi. 12. C. S. 60.
 37 examples in 820 lines.

Asclepiadics:

- I. i. 11, 18; iii. 8, 24, 33; xi. 7; xiv. 5; xv. 2, 18, 32; xviii. 11, 14, 15; xix. 8; xxi. 12; xxiii. 3, 7; xxiv. 13; xxxiii. 4, 12; xxxvi. 16.

II. xii. 5, 27.

- III. vii. 30; ix. 22; xv. 4, 10; xvi. 8; xix. 3; xxiv. 11, 24, 61; xxviii. 4.
 IV. i. 16, 18, 20, 24, 27; iii. 16; v. 5; viii. 17, 24; x. 2; xiii. 1.
 44 examples in 826 lines.

Other metres:

- I. iv. 9; vii. 8, 25, 29; viii. 3; xxviii. 6, 17, 23, 28.
 II. xviii. 5, 8, 18, 30.
 III. and IV. no instances.
 13 examples in 180 lines.

In computing instances of hiatus between stanza and stanza in the following table, the 'second' Asclepiadic is regarded as a series of couplets; but Asclepiadic lines occurring *κατὰ στίχον*, as in I. i., xi., are regarded as forming four-line stanzas, IV. viii. being considered to have lost two lines.

'Bk. IV.' includes the C. S.

	I ⁻	I ⁺	I ^m	2 ⁻	2 ⁺	2 ^m	3 ⁻	3 ⁺	3 ^m	4 ⁻	4 ⁺	4 ^m	Total.	Heavy Punct.	Light Punct.	No Punct.
Alcaics, Bk. I. ...	3	I	I	3	—	—	2	I	—	4	—	—	15 (11)	3	2	10
" " II. ...	I	—	—	I	—	—	4	I	I	6	I	2	17 (8)	5	4	8
" " III. ...	I	—	—	2	—	—	I	—	—	10	—	I	15 (4)	8	3	4
" " IV. ...	—	—	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	I	—	—	2 (1)	—	I	I
Sapphics, Bk. I. ...	2	—	—	4	—	—	2	—	2	3	I	I	15 (10)	2	5	8
" " II. ...	I	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	I	2	9 (3)	6	3	—
" " III. ...	I	—	I	I	—	I	—	—	—	5	I	—	10 (4)	7	I	2
" " IV. ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	I	3 (0)	3	—	—
Ascl., Bk. I. ...	2	—	I	2	—	I	5	I	I	7*	—	I*	21 (13)	9	5	7
" " II. ...	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(2)	—	I	I
" " III. ...	2	—	I	I	—	—	—	—	—	5*	—	I*	10 (4)	4	3	3
" " IV. ...	4	—	—	I	—	—	I	—	—	5*	—	—	11 (6)	4	3	4
Other,† Bk. I. ...	3	I	2	2	—	I	—	—	—	—	—	—	9 (6)	3	I	5
" " II. ...	I	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 (1)	I	—	3
" " III. ...	N	on	e													
" " IV. ...	N	on	e													
Total ...													143 (73)	55	32	56

I⁻, etc. = after first, etc., line, which ends in a long vowel or diphthong.

I⁺, etc. = " " " " short vowel.

I^m, etc. = " " " " + m.

* Including the second line of a couplet of 'Second' Asclepiad.

† Couplets only.

H. J. ROSE.

H. PRITCHARD-WILLIAMS.

NOTES ON ATHENAEUS.

14C. Homer sang of Ares and Aphrodite
ἀποτρέπων αὐτοὺς παρανόμων ὀρέων. ὀάρων,
 'dallings' is a possible reading.

32C. *ἦν ἄρ' ἔπος τόδ' ἀληθές, δ' τ' οὐ μόνον ὕδατος αἶσαν ἀλλά τι καὶ λεύκης οἶνος ἔχειν ἐθέλει.*

For λεύκης we may perhaps read *λέσχης*.

238E. Antiphanes, 'Ancestors' (K. II. 94).
 A parasite says:

τοῖς φίλοις τοιοῦτός εἰμι δη τις τύπτεσθαι μύδρος. εἰμ', ἦδιστε, τ. μ. may be the original.

258A. A flatterer of the type just described should be called *μαλακοκόλαξ*. *πρὸς γὰρ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ κολακεύειν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα . . . ἀποπλάτ-*

τεται. C. reads πρὸς γὰρ τῷ οὕτω. The true text may then be πρὸς γὰρ τοι τῷ οὕτω κολακεύειν, τοι and τῷ being transposed.

605F. Cleisophos tried to embrace the statue of Aphrodite, but, being repelled by the coldness and solidity of the stone, he desisted, καὶ προβαλλόμενος τὸ σαρκίον ἐπλησίασεν.

We may read τὸ σηρικόν.

T. W. LUMB.

HERODAS, *MIMES* III 93.

τὴν γλάσσαν ἐς μέλι πλύνas. Knox-Headlam, p. 161, contains a slip, which is perhaps worth correcting. Against the view of Ellis that this phrase has some connection with the rites of initiation into the Mithraic grade of 'Lions' it is there argued 'it is *the tongue* here, not the hands, which is to be washed with honey.' This betrays a misapprehension of the facts. If the study of Porphyry, *de antro nymphaeum*, 15, is prolonged to the sentence immediately following that of which a part is quoted, it will become apparent that in the Mithraic rite tongue, as well as hands, was purified with honey. καθαίρουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν τῷ μέλιτι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀμαρτωλοῦ.

The statement that 'it is questionable whether Herodas can possibly have been acquainted with Mithraic cult' is perfectly accurate. It is questionable, but not out of the question, and the balancing of probabilities is perhaps more delicate than the note suggests. On the one hand it is quite true that Mithras is absent from Hellenistic Delos, that the god 'had not even learned to speak Greek' (Lucian, *Deor. Con.* 9) and that until the advent of Pompey's pirate prisoners there is little trace of Greek or Roman interest in Mithraism. On the other hand, it may be remembered that the artistic type of Mithras slaying the bull was indisputably fixed by some Greek artist of the Pergamene school.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE GELENIAN CODICES OF LIVY.

As the MSS. of Livy used by Sigismundus Gelenius and Beatus Rhenanus for their edition of the historian, which appeared at Basle in 1535, have apparently perished, it is natural to treat their reports with caution. It is well known that in such cases the moral honesty, as well as the careful observation, of old editors has to be considered by the modern critic. I am glad, therefore, to be able to furnish a confirmation of the trust reposed in Gelenius by Messrs. Conway and Walters (in the 'prae-fatio' to their edition of Livy, Books VI.-X., § 42), from a parallel case that has come under my notice.

In 1550 the same Gelenius issued in the same city of Basle an edition of Tertullian. In it a very large number of readings appear which were otherwise unknown until the other day. In this case, as in the other, the MSS. quoted have perished. But a twelfth-century MS. of Tertullian has turned up at Troyes (No. 523, formerly of Clairvaux), which was certainly not

a Gelenian codex, and yet it offers nearly every one of the readings (in the *De Carnis Resurrectione*) cited as *Gel.* in the edition of certain of Tertullian's works published by Emil Kroymann at Vienna in 1906. I made a collation of this MS. in 1920, and can testify that of the scores, or perhaps hundreds, of readings cited as *Gel.*, hardly any are absent from this MS.

Gelenius being then an honest man, we can trust his statements about the MSS. of other authors.

A. SOUTER.

THE EXTENT OF TERRITORY BELONGING TO CITIES IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

It is possible that the following passage has escaped the notice of many who take an interest in this topic. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, III. 15 (p. 119, ll. 6 ff., ed. Dombart³), states, on the authority of some ancient historian, that the Roman domain at the end of the regal period scarcely extended to twenty Roman miles from the city: 'uix illud imperium intra viginti ab Vrbe milia dilatauerint.' Then occur the important words: 'quantum spatium absit ut saltem alicuius Gaetulae ciuitatis nunc territorio comparetur!' This implies that cities in the Roman province Africa and in neighbouring provinces about A.D. 400 normally had territory extending far beyond twenty Roman miles from their walls.

The passage is not given in Dessau's article *Gaetuli* in Pauly-Wissowa, and in general it may be remarked that insufficient use has been made of evidence from Christian sources in that indispensable work.

A. SOUTER.

LUCRETIIUS AND CICERO'S VERSE.

THESE remarks are intended as a reply to Merrill's paper of the same title in the *Univ. of California Publications in Class. Philology*, V. 9 (1921). Merrill's points are briefly these:

(1) 'The leading grammarians in the schools brought about a gradual change' in the Hexameter, so that the improvements common to Cicero and Lucretius are due to the influence of the schools, not to imitation of Cicero by L.

(2) Knowing Aratus in Greek, 'L. naturally used certain forms of expression in Latin that had been used by Cicero,' so that most of the parallels between Cicero and L. 'will prove to be mere coincidence.'

I. Assuming that there were any teachers at Rome before Valerius Cato who might be said to have started 'schools' of poetry, it still seems clear from the scanty remains of the poetry of the time, that what they taught would be precisely what was rejected by Lucretius and ridiculed by Cicero—the pretty, smooth, somewhat invertebrate Hexameter affected by the νεωτερίζοντες in their *epyllia*, and their neat manipulation of the Greek lyric metres, culminating in Galliambics, Technopaegnia, and the like: of serious didactic poetry, like that of Cicero and L., there is not a trace. For L., the

only model available was Cicero, particularly the *Aratea*.¹ Similarly, Cicero and L. stand almost, if not quite, alone in their admiration of Ennius. That they recognised the Ennian Hexameter did need improvement is shown by their practice; that they were on the whole right in clinging to the past while learning from the present is shown by the history of the Latin Hexameter, which gradually drops the mannerisms, preciosity, and prettinesses of the 'schools' and develops along the lines laid down by the catholic-minded Cicero and his great disciple, discarding their few remaining archaisms—which were mostly, no doubt, the result of still imperfect technique. The Hexameter of the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics* is far nearer to L. than to, e.g., the *Peleus and Thetis*. When Cicero in a famous passage allows L. *ars* as well as *ingenium*, he is probably thinking of L.'s improvements on Ennian technique, agreeing as they did with his own practice.

2. That Aratus was enormously popular at Rome is clear; when Cicero's version was still without rivals it must have been widely read; a scientist like L., with a foible for astronomy, with dreams of himself writing a great didactic poem, can hardly have failed to read it; what more likely than that, having once read it, he would at once recognise that here was the very model he had looked for, uniting the dignity of the old with much of the elegance of the new? Had Cicero's work been technically far worse than it is, it still contained the key to the solution of L.'s problem—a problem which, as is clear from many passages in the poem, had greatly exercised and fascinated him. Cicero with his wonderful ear and sense of style had

¹ The shadowy Egnatius, whose *De Rerum Natura* in verse is twice quoted by Macrobius, though apparently older than Cicero and L. (like them he drops final 's'), seems never to have been much read. L.'s claims to originality (*Avia Pieridum*, etc.) show pretty conclusively that he had never read him, so that he falls outside our discussion.

done for the Hexameter what L., with all his genius, might never have achieved. (Similarly, modern English prose style owes more to the somewhat bald prose of Tillotson and the Royal Society, than to the glowing periods of Browne, Taylor, Milton, etc., and modern sonata form to C. P. E. Bach, than to his far greater father.)

However, for verbal parallels, the evidence lies before us in Merrill's careful list. While conceding that many are of a kind that any writer of Hexameters might have hit on under similar circumstances, I cannot but think that there is a residue which cannot be explained except as deliberate imitations. The following (mostly from Merrill) seem the most decisive [of course some may go back to Ennius]:

<i>Lucretius.</i>	<i>Cicero.</i>
1. 35 tereti cervice reposita. 68 minitanti murmure.	t. c. reflexum. m. m.
2. 148 convestire luce.	convestit lumine.
321 omnia quae . . . confusa videntur.	o. q. c. v.
555 fluitantia aplustra.	f. a.
3. 218 toto iam corpore cessit. 289 ex oculis micat ardor.	t. cum c. cedit. ardore micantes (<i>de Cons.</i>), q. e. n. n. tortos evolvere cursus.
316 quorum ego nunc nequeo caecas expromere causas.	f. i. c. (<i>de Cons.</i>)
488 fulminis ictu concidit.	a. inclusa c.
4. 391 aetheriis adfixa caverinis.	q. s. flumine fontis.
5. 261 quod superest . . . flumina fontes [498 aether ignifer.	igniferum aethera.]
712 labitur ex alia signorum parte per orbem.	s. labier orbem.
1205 stellisque micantibus aethera fixum ('studied,' a fine phrase).	adfixa videtur stella micans.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

REVIEWS

VIRGIL AND DR. MACKAIL.

Virgil and His Meaning to the World of To-day. By J. W. MACKAIL. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xix + 159. London: Harrap, 1923. 5s.

DR. MACKAIL has achieved the impossible task of writing about the best known of classical writers a book as fresh as if no one had written on Virgil before. Something is new, and those parts which have often been thought before have never been so well expressed. As delightful to read as a

novel, it is a summary introduction to the poet for the general reader, who will find in it the indispensable facts about the poet's world, life, and works, with such appreciation and criticism as will stimulate as well as guide his judgment. We can think of no classical author, except Euripides, for whom this has been done before. Dr. Mackail's book renews a precedent and provides an example, which it is to be hoped will be followed with other

authors. It must be read to be appreciated, but we quote one or two specimens to show the kind of criticism in which it abounds. 'It was Virgil's aim, it is perhaps his greatest achievement, to fuse the new romantic sensibility with the epic largeness and the Roman dignity.' 'The so-called didactic poem was a courageous attempt to bring the whole field of the arts and sciences within the scope of imaginative treatment.' 'Lyrical instinct is so grounded in the English genius that it gives to the whole body of English poetry a quality of its own; the epic as such is to some degree foreign to the English mode of creation.' We wish we could add to these the brilliant summary of the chief motives of the *Aeneid* (p. 74 f.).

At times some of Dr. Mackail's readers may be unwilling to go the whole way with him; as when he ascribes to the Dido episode 'a greatness and intensity unsurpassed in ancient or modern poetry,' or when he praises Virgil's portraiture of boys. Iulus is indeed intended to supply a light and colour absent from the main figure (as the young Lord Castlewood is introduced into *Esmond*), but many readers find Iulus in effect if not in intention a wooden doll, and Virgil here far less successful than Thackeray. And should Virgil, on the strength of the tenth *Eclogue*, be described as the 'fountain-head of romanticism'? There is romanticism enough in the second idyll of Theocritus, or in the idyll on which Virgil modelled his *Eclogue*; and even if we ignore Apollonius Rhodius, and deny any claims on behalf of the lost Alexandrians, there is the *Attis* of Catullus. Still, romanticism covers a number of virtues—or sins—and we may be misinterpreting Dr. Mackail's use of the word.

With admirable justice Dr. Mackail writes: 'For the enormous and chaotic production of the present age, it is more than ever essential to have a standard of quality, to preserve and

study and appreciate the masterpieces.' But is he right in adding, 'This standard Virgil gives more fully perhaps than any other single poet'? Not only may it be argued that in conception the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the last four books of the *Aeneid* are errors in literary tact, disguised by the amazing genius with which they were executed, and that Virgil's style is often, as some of his contemporaries found it, a *nova cacozelia*. A standard by which to judge literature must surely be more simple, spontaneous, and natural than Virgil, and the history of the Latin poetry of the empire—one of the great literary débâcles of the world—shows how little Virgil availed to train men who were brought up on his works. It is doubtful whether Latin literature can furnish such a standard. The earlier poets thought too little about the art of literature, and Virgil and his successors thought too much.

Similar doubts rise when Virgil is shown to us as a guide to world reconstruction. Ill-suited to such needs is the 'sadness at the doubtful doom of human kind,' the sense of *lacrimae rerum*, to which no poet has ever so perfectly given voice, and which betray an old world, half-consciously aware of its spiritual malaise. Nor should we forget that this shy and consumptive student preached the ideal of Prussianism in its noblest and most seductive form.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
* * * * *

Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

This is very different from the ideal of empire which is one of the greatest creations of the British race.

On points such as these Dr. Mackail's book leaves room for doubts. What is undoubted is, that by showing the reader how to understand and enjoy the classics, it marks the best way of encouraging their study.

R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

BAILEY'S *LUCRETIVS*.

Lucreti De Rerum Natura libri sex.

Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit CYRILLUS BAILEY. Editio altera. One vol. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4s. net.

THE editor records in his preface that, during the twenty-three years that have passed since his first edition, the study of Lucretius has been much advanced by three contributions—the edition of Giussani, the facsimiles of the Leyden MSS. edited by M. Ém. Chatelain, and the critical studies of Professor W. A. Merrill. Giussani's services were great indeed, but are valuable chiefly for the interpretation of the poem. And the facsimiles, beautiful as they are, have not told us much of importance that we did not know before; the prefaces of Chatelain have indeed laid down a new date for Q, and a different archetype for all the MSS.; but of all this Mr. Bailey says nothing. Of Professor Merrill's success as an emender of the text Mr. Bailey expresses a high opinion, but seldom, if ever, promotes his emendations to the text.

Though the pagination appears to correspond exactly to that of the first edition, yet the *apparatus criticus* is much fuller than it was: many additional readings of O and Q are given, and the number of conjectures recorded is much larger. It might have been well, in an edition of this kind, to add the *tituli* from O, which are of some importance in the criticism of Lucretius: they are duly recorded by M. Ernout in the *apparatus* to his text (Paris, 1920). M. Ernout's record of readings too seems somewhat fuller; thus he gives O's *de coetum materia* (i. 1017), which throws some light on O's *teneri res in conciliun medii* (i. 1082) where Marullus substituted *concilio*.

The editor reports in his preface that he has made 171 changes in the text of his new edition, and that in 108 of these he has restored the reading of the Leyden MSS. Some at least of these restorations—e.g., *permaneant* for *permanent* (i. 122), and *nox* for *sol* (v. 1189),

are unquestionably right. But he still gives in many places more credit to the tradition than it deserves. Thus he retains the solecism of *omnia . . . crescentes* (i. 190), which Munro got rid of by supposing that a line is lost; he does not object to the bad logic of i. 334,

quapropter locus est intactus inane uacansque

before any proof has been given that Void exists; and he tolerates the unexampled dative in *-ā* of i. 453.

The existence of *lacunae* is admitted in six passages of the First Book, but not after l. 1114; yet that passage has never been explained except on Munro's hypothesis of a missing line. Transposition of single lines is admitted to be a fairly common error in the text; but the editor wisely refrains from following Giussani, who too often transposed whole paragraphs. There is a passage in the First Book (ll. 998-1001) where the editor adopts Munro's transposition; but, if transposition is needed (and I think it is), it is certain that the place chosen by Giussani for these four lines is a better place for them than that chosen by Munro. Indeed, Giussani's explanation of the whole passage is one of his palmary achievements. His transposition, recorded (though not accepted) by Ernout, is not even mentioned in this edition. The editor reprints his own conjecture of *intust* for *intus* (iv. 961), without offering any justification of such a novelty.

On the whole, this text is the best and most convenient for an English reader to study Lucretius in. If I were a Frenchman, I should give the preference to M. Ernout's, which is a more business-like book, with its pages duly numbered and its date printed on its first page. This book, like the rest of the series, has no date and no pagination. The preface is dated 1921, but this does not fix the year of publication. One would like to know, for instance, whether the editor takes account of M. Ernout's text; he does not appear anywhere to refer to it.

J. D. DUFF.

DUFF'S *LUCRETII* I.

T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura Liber Primus. Edited, with introduction, notes, and index, by J. D. DUFF, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

One vol. Pp. xxvi + 136. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1923. 4s.

AFTER a long interval Mr. Duff has edited another book of Lucretius for us, and all students of the poet will be grateful for it. It is brief—almost tantalisingly brief—but full of ripe scholarship and considered opinions, fresh, too, both in its many original views and in its general treatment. An introduction of eighteen pages deals with Lucretius' life; with the poem in general; with the Leyden MSS.; and with two editors, to whom Mr. Duff acknowledges a special debt—Bernays and Giussani. In each of these sections there is a concise statement of what can be certainly known and a studied avoidance of all that is doubtful. It is interesting to note that Mr. Duff (p. xi) holds that Cicero in his famous criticism attributed both *ingenium* and *ars* to the poem, and meant that 'it displays not only the native genius of the early Roman poets, but also that art of finished execution which our modern poets have imitated from the Alexandrians.' In this I most fully agree, and am glad to see it stated dogmatically. It is interesting, too, that he has adopted (p. xvi) Giussani's notion of passages written later by the poet when he was engaged on subsequent books: of this notion Mr. Duff in his notes makes sparing but effective use.

Mr. Duff is of course an ardent disciple of Munro, and thinks that 'the text of the poem remains substantially as he left it' (p. i). His edition naturally enough takes for granted an acquaintance with Munro's text and notes; but since it is presumably intended to stand by itself, is it not a little misleading to make no mention of any MS. besides O and Q, or, again, of editors since Munro? Mr. Duff cites Brieger occasionally and the recent text of Ernout: is it reasonable to ignore the work of Merrill? I should not expect Mr. Duff to agree with Merrill's views as to the text; but in his two editions

and innumerable papers he has done so much to forward the study of Lucretius that one would have expected to find some reference to him. One more small point in the introduction: is it fair (p. xv) to speak of 'Logic, or, as Epicurus preferred to call it, Canonic'? Epicurus despised logic, and regarded his own Canonic as a code of practical procedure.

The text in the main follows Munro, and in certain places (188-9, 599-600, 1068-1075) prints in italics Munro's brilliant supplements in suspected lacunae. The critical notes are few, and I cannot detect on what principle they are inserted; for they are sometimes given in what seem comparatively unimportant places (e.g. 207, 520, 542, 666), and omitted elsewhere where they would seem to be required in order to form an adequate judgment on the text (e.g. 784-5, where *ignem . . . igni* of OQ can hardly be ignored). To one who believes in a return to the text of OQ, at least as a foundation, Mr. Duff's text seems rather disappointingly to follow the tradition of the nineteenth-century editors; but that is a matter of personal prejudice. In particular I deprecate the practice of disparaging the text of OQ by destroying the parallels which it offers: e.g. in 188-190 '*omnia quando paulatim crescunt, ut par est, semine certo, crescentesque genus seruant*,' Mr. Duff inserts Munro's supplement in his text, and says in the note that 'editors who deny a lacuna have to account for the solecism of *crescentes* agreeing with *omnia*: no similar instance, without metrical necessity, can be produced from the poem.' Not if you 'emend' the parallels, such as *horum* in 450. But in 57 Mr. Duff himself admits that *perempta* refers to the *res* of the previous line; and in III. 185 he left *res ulla . . . quorum*, which is the exact parallel of I. 450. I don't say that these instances prove the more difficult text in 188-190, but they do, I think, show a tendency in Lucretius to assimilate *res* and the neuter, and make it unreasonable to say that 'no similar instance can be produced.' Mr. Duff's own contributions to the text are *sunt* for *sint* in 319,

which seems hardly necessary; and the transposition of lines 658, 659, which with Munro's *nasci* in 657 makes a very plausible restoration of a difficult passage.

The notes are full of good and interesting comments, and Mr. Duff finds room for modern (and often humorous) illustrations. One would like to quote, but I can only refer to the notes on 20, 43, 85, 115, 150, 164, 173, 303, 329, 370, 435, 642, 881, 1035, as particularly illuminating. It is surprising how much has been crowded into a small space, and Mr. Duff has done special service in his elucidations and criticisms of Lucretius' argument. I do not, however, find his exposition of the argument in 958-1013 convincing. Mr. Duff regards the whole of this passage as proving the infinity of the universe, the separate proofs of the infinity of body and void being apparently contained in the lacuna following 1014. To support this view Mr. Duff is compelled to include (p. 121) among the 'many names' which Lucretius uses for the universe both *omne quod est spatium* (969), *spatium summai totius omne* (984), and *rerum summa* (1008). This is surely very unnatural: the first two of these expressions should mean 'the totality of space,' and *rerum summa* 'the sum-total of matter.' And so they do, if we divide the passage thus: (1) 958-983 (? + 998-1001) the infinity of the universe; (2) 984-1007 the infinity of space; (3) 1008-1051 the infinity of body. One wishes Mr. Duff could have argued at greater length for a view which at first sight seems unnatural and confusing.

The reader will certainly wish that Mr. Duff had not thought it necessary, as he states in the preface, to 'restrict illustration, even from the other books of Lucretius, within narrow limits.' Lucretius is so frequently his own best commentator, and a few parallels or even references would often have been of value—e.g. in the notes on 58, 82, and 86; or again his view that the invocation to Venus is traditional mythology might have been greatly strengthened in five words by a reference to the parallel invocation to *callida musa Calliope* in VI. 94. In 469 I agree that the OQ text *terris . . . regionibus* must be kept, but not with Mr. Duff's explanation: the two words correspond to 'body and space,' as shown by *materies rerum . . . locus ac spatium* (471, 2) and *corporis atque loci* (482); 'space' like 'body' may have its *euenta* as well as its *coniuncta*. Again in 744 OQ's *solem* may surely be kept in the sense of 'sunlight,' which it has e.g. in V. 1192; nor in 175 can I believe that *uites* is a natural 'gloss' on *uuas*.

If I have selected a few places where I cannot agree with Mr. Duff—as a critic is bound to—I should like to conclude by saying that there are many (e.g. 122, 435, 566, 885-7) where I am delighted to find views I have long held confirmed by Mr. Duff's authority. In many other passages he has made suggestions which convince at first sight, or at least give food for reflection. It is not often that so brief an edition contains so much valuable material.

C. BAILEY.

HOSIUS' *PROPERTIUS*, ED. 2.

Sex. Propertii Elegiarum libri IV iterum edidit CAROLUS HOSIUS. One vol. Pp. xxii + 190. Fcap. 8vo. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. 3.40 sh.

THIS edition follows the first at an interval of eleven years. In the apparatus criticus Mr Hosius has made some 70 or 80 changes, attended by misprints at I 1 30, II 32 23, and III 22 9. Some of the additions are details derived from a fresh examination of N and A, but others were already to be

found in Baehrens and might have been given in the 1st ed. if they were to be given at all. Most of them are quite useless and so trivial as to be out of place in an apparatus which does not pretend to furnish full collations; it is however worth knowing that AFDV all four of them have *quantus* I 14 6 and *sunt* ib. 16, that A, and perhaps N, has *uota* I 16 2, and that in II 1 47 the first reading of A was *uni*, which is the conjecture of Bosscha. The new pro-

posals recorded are about 25, which is far too many. The apparatus of the 1st ed. was already full enough of rubbish: at I 3 20 three conjectures, *ignotae*, in *notis*, in *natis*, all intolerable and all arising from simple ignorance, which Mr Hosius must be deemed to share, of what *ignotis* means. He still does not distinguish sensible suggestions from foolish ones, nor cite those in preference to these. If any substitute for *creditur* IV 8 10 was to be mentioned, it should have been Mr Birt's *conditur*, not Cornelissen's *raditur*.

In the attribution of conjectures to their authors Mr Hosius' Propertius is less untrustworthy than his Lucan, but the following corrections are required. I 16 38 *tanta* not Hailer but Vat. 5. I 19 19 *mixta* not Otto but Baehrens (*cum mixta mea possim*). II 1 37: Vulpus placed no lacuna before this verse. II 2 11 *et* not Butler but Scaliger. II 6 35 sq. before 27 not Heydenreich but Kuinoel. II 8 8 *sic* in not Rasi but Palmer (1874, Ouid. *her.* p. xxxvi). II 12 6 *haud uano* not Housman but Nodell. II 16 23 *cubares* not Palmer but codd. recc. II 19 5 *ulla* not Guyet but Commelini liber. II 20 8 in not Enk but Vat. 5. II 28 62 *dist.* not Gebhardus but Gebhardi codd. II 34 31 *Musis meliorem* not Fuerstenau but Scaliger. II 34 83 *hic* not Lachmann but the printer of his 2nd ed. III 5 6 *misera* not Broukhusius but Acidalius (at Vell. Pat. I 14). III 6 29 *tacentia* not Palmer but Palmerius. III 15 31 *componunt* not Marx but Doruillii cod. 2. III 18 21 *manet* not Palmer but Keil.

IV 3 11 *gaudia* and *noctis* not Rothstein and Bury but L. Mueller. IV 3 55 *Craugidos* not Buecheler but Bergk.¹ IV 7 27 *furuum* not Heinsius but Paserat. IV 11 97 *sumpta* not Habet but Baehrens (with *matrī*). Conjectures of my own attributed to others I do not reclaim.

Mr Hosius says that he has made few changes in the text, and apart from the correction of misprints in II 1 68, 24 24, and 26 35, I have noticed only three: I 16 2 *nota* for *nota*, II 28 56 *omnes* for *omnis*, and IV 1 71 *fata* for *facta*. The medieval orthography of the MSS, *humor*, *humidus*, *iocundus*, *soboles*, *nequicquam* II 4 5 (though N has the true form, which is printed in III 17 23), *Alcidem*, *Cybellem*, *Aganippeae*, *Ephyreae*, is still ascribed to Propertius; and so are other false spellings which have been imported by conjecture: *siccine* III 6 9, *Theiodamanteo* I 20 6, *Perimedeae* II 4 8, *Philiteis* IV 6 3 (but *Philitea* correctly III 3 52). The hexameter II 34 39 *Amphiareae non prosint tibi fata quadrigae* still bears its witness to Mr Hosius' knowledge of metre. So correct and normal does it appear to him that he makes no remark upon it in his *index metricus et prosodiacus*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

¹ I have said this before, and as scholars educated at Bonn are loth to believe it I now give chapter and verse. Buecheler proposed *Craugidos* in 1888 (*Rhein. Mus.* XLIII p. 297): Bergk had already proposed it, not for the first time, in 1873 (*Augusti rer. a se gest. ind.* p. 124).

JULIANUS REDIVIVUS.

Imp. Caesaris Flavii Claudii Iuliani Epistulae Leges Poematia Fragmenta Varia. Collegerunt recensuerunt I. BIDEZ et F. CUMONT. Pp. xxvi + 328. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres'; London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford: University Press, 1922. (Paper, 11s. net; cloth, 12s. 6d. net.)

JULIAN, correspondent and lawgiver, is indeed *felix opportunitate resurrectionis*. For resurrection it is when a personality, who has lain buried for fifty years in

the editions of Hercher and Hertlein, is restored to us as Julian is restored in this edition. And the collaboration of a skilled textual critic like the editor of Philostorgius with the chief living authority on the religious antiquities of the fourth century, essential as it was to the production of a definitive edition of Julian's correspondence, was almost too opportune to hope for. Students of the *Götterdämmerung* were already familiar, if not with the text of the

Recherches published by MM. Bidez and Cumont in 1898, at least with the deep impress their conclusions had made on Allard's three-volume work on Julian. And now, at last, these *Recherches* have borne their appropriate fruit in the edition before us.

The traditional collection of Julian's letters, as has long been recognised, includes several false attributions and forgeries. Here, for the first time, the sheep are formally separated from the goats, and the 'spuriae uel dubiae' are put in their proper place at the end of the book. Next, the genuine letters, so far as internal evidence or general historical probability renders such attribution possible, are arranged chronologically as Gaulish, Illyrian, Constantinopolitan, Anatolian, Antiochene. With those which can be thus assigned go others which appear to reflect the same conditions, or bear them a general similarity; such attribution cannot, of course, be final. There remain six letters (out of eighty-five) franked 'temporis incerti.' The six Papadopoulos letters appear for the first time in an edition of Julian's Epistles. The MS. tradition has been reviewed, and practically all the MSS. collated; and the text has been substantially improved. Only about half a dozen *crucis* remain to disfigure the text of the genuine letters.

Had this been all we should have had reason for gratitude. But the editors have gone further, and have not only printed the laws of Julian (to whom, with Dessau, they assign the Fayûm papyrus *de auro coronario*) with *apparatus criticus*, and distributed in their chronological sequence in relation to the letters, but have collected every statement in contemporary and later writers bearing on Julian as correspondent or lawgiver. Even two inscriptions find a place in this catalogue. There are *Indices fontium et nominum*.

The net result is a source-book indispensable to all students both of Roman and of Early Christian history. To praise such a book, nobly planned and finely executed, is superfluous. A more becoming tribute to the editors is to make immediate use of their *apparatus*

criticus in an assault on their *loci desperati*. The passages are quoted according to their new pagination.

P. 15 f.:

ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τύριος Μάξιμος εἰς βιβλία [μὲν] πλείονα τῆς λογικῆς ὀλίγα δεῦν εἶπε, σὺ δὲ με δι' ἐνὸς βιβλίου τῆς Ἀριστοτελικῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐποίησας ἴσως δὴ καὶ βάκχον, ἀλλ' οὐ τι ναρθήκοφόρον.

Read ὀλίγου δεῦν οὐδὲν εἶπε ('said next to nothing by way of comment on several books of the *Logic*'). Mr. Harrison suggests ἀλλ' οὐν ναρθήκοφόρον.

P. 19:

ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοὺς μὲν χιλιάρχους, ὅταν λείπωσι τὴν τάξιν, καταδικάζειν (καίτοις χρὴν ἱκανὰς τεθνάναι παραχρῆμα καὶ μηδὲ ταφῆς ἀξιούσθαι) τὴν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολείπειν τάξιν. . . .

'χρὴν ἐκείνους Boissonade, χρὴ νικᾶν ἢ P. Thomas.' But surely this parenthesis refers, not to the cowardly officer, but to the indulgent judge. Read χρὴν οὐκίσαντα τεθνάναι.

P. 31:

A parenthesis (καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς εἰς καταφανὲς οὐ ἐνεδέχτο τρόπον ἐποίησα).

αὐτοῖς εἶναι seems too obvious to have been overlooked. What is wrong with it?

P. 68:

Julian reprimands the Alexandrines for the murder of Bishop Georgius: τοῦ μὲν δήμος ὥσπερ οἱ κύνας ἀνθρώπων σπαράττειν, εἶτα οὐκ αἰσχύνεται κατὰ φυλάττει καθαρὰς τὰς χεῖρας ὡς προσάγειν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αἵματος καθαρευούσας.

The *crux* is correctly inserted. What Julian wrote was: εἶτα οὐκ αἰσχύνεται κατὰ φυλάς ὅσα καθάραι τὰς χεῖρας προσάγειν πρὸς τ. θ. ὡς αἵματος καθαρευούσας. For καθάραι is the form of the aorist affected by Julian; cf. ἀποκαθάραι below, and p. 135, ll. 27, 28. κατὰ φυλάς implies that the reference is to the χέρνιβες before the tribal sacrifice; such an occasion suits the context. ΚΑΤΑΦΤΑΑΣΤΑΑΤΙ became ΚΑΙΦΤΑΑΤΤΕΙ (by way of ΚΑΤΑΦΤΑΑΤΙ); καθάραι was read as καθάραι; and ὡς was transferred to make a construction which appears to have satisfied Lang.

P. 126:

τοὺς μὲν ὧν εἰς σχολῇ προσέχοντας. 'Εβραίων ἀσεβείας exactly fits the gaps in V, and is closer to what Dübner thought he saw through his acid than any other proposal. Whether the desiderated τῇ τῶν before Ἐβραίων was omitted by Julian himself or by a copyist I do not seek to determine.

P. 142:

Read ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ἱερὸς ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἱερὴ προσήκει μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς λειτουργίας ἐπιτηδεύει, χρὴ σκοπεῖν τί μὲν ὡς ἱερῇ προστάξιν, τί δὲ ὡς ἱερατεύει ἀνθρώπων λαχόντι συγχωρητέον, ὅταν ἐκτός ᾖ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λειτουργίας. That, at any rate, is what Julian proceeds to consider.

This last passage is *not* marked as *desperatus* by B. and C. There remain *crucis* on pp. 12 (where Platt's ἄλλος should have been adopted), 96, 158.

W. M. CALDER.

HALLIDAY'S ROMAN RELIGION.

Lectures on the History of Roman Religion from Numa to Augustus. By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. 178+4 index. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool, Ltd.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd, 1922. 5s.

THE study of the religion of Ancient Rome has been practically revolutionised in the last generation mainly by the work of two men, Wissowa and Warde Fowler; yet there has hitherto been no short popular presentation of the results accessible to the general English reader. Professor Halliday has admirably supplied the want. In eight lectures he has given a clear picture of the 'Religion of Numa,' and traced its development through the periods of Italian expansion, of Greek influence, of philosophy and of the revival of Augustus with its beginnings of emperor worship. The book is no mere compilation; it is fresh and vital throughout, he keeps religion always in touch with the general political history of Rome, and his line of approach is often original. One might mention in particular the whole chapter on 'The Religion of the State,' where he brings out very happily what the transition from an agricultural worship to a state-cult meant and the organisation it involved, the opening of Lecture VI. where a brief page gives a clear idea of the changes which had come in by the time of the Punic wars, and a very penetrating analysis on p. 87 of the three main classes of deities found in the oldest stratum. But there are good things like this all through the book, which to anyone coming new to the subject should be little short of fascinating.

The reviewer of a short summary of a large subject generally finds something to complain of as regards omissions and on the ground of dogmatism. On the first head I have little to say, though I think that a second edition might contain a few extra pages in Lecture II. on the ritual of the household worship, about which *Dei Marchi* (*Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica*) has collected a good deal of information. On a smaller point, Professor Halliday

on p. 51 rejects the human sacrifice view of the Argei, but proposes no alternative: might not fertility-magic be suggested as a possibility—the *Golden Bough* supplies a good many parallels? Under the second head, it is always very difficult to be brief without being dogmatic, but perhaps it is unsafe to state without any suggestion of doubt—e.g. that the symbol \mathfrak{N} stands for *nefastus* (p. 44), that the goats at the Lupercalia were sacrificed to Faunus (p. 59) (Faunus = Pan, Lupercalia = Lycaea, and there is the Evander legend in the background), or that Iupiter Feretrius is the god of the thunderbolt (p. 100). More serious perhaps is the statement on p. 125 that 'the completely anthropomorphic character of the ideas expressed in presenting a banquet to divine beings is absolutely foreign to the numinism of early Rome'; here you have to reckon with the *epulum Iovis* and the household offering at the daily meal; Warde Fowler (*R.E.* p. 173) is much more cautious. Or, again, is it true (p. 149) that 'the influence of the comic stage upon the Roman lower classes was not less potent than the influence of Greek philosophy upon the upper'? Do we know much about the influence of comedy on the lower classes, and is there much profanity in Plautus and Terence? The *Amphitryon*, which Professor Halliday quotes, is surely unique.

One or two more criticisms suggest themselves at different points in the book. On p. 39 Professor Halliday writes, 'The collective, ancestral dead, Di Manes': Manes, perhaps, but it is at least doubtful whether the Di Manes were not in the earliest period the underworld gods, of whom we have traces in such persons as Vediovis and Acca Larentia. On p. 70 Quirinus is described as 'a form of Mars'; this is surely misleading. Quirinus was an independent personality, though he doubtless occupied in the Quirinal settlement the same position as Mars did on the Palatine. On p. 79 the derivation of *augur* from *avis* is given without an alternative: is not recent

opinion veering to the alternative connexion with the root of *augere*, seen again in *augustus*? The *augur* may well be the 'blesser' rather than the 'bird-man.' On p. 155 I think Epicurean scepticism about the existence and nature of the gods is put too strongly. In the last chapter on the Augustan revival, which is admirably done, I do not think it is sufficiently brought out that the inclusion of Apollo on the Palatine and in the Augustan forum was intended to link up the Graeco-Roman cult with the old Roman religion, represented by Vesta and Mars, both in close relation to the emperor himself.

These are all comparatively small points, which Professor Halliday may like to think over before a second edition is due, as I hope it will be very soon. There is no doubt that the book as a whole is a great help to the understanding of Roman life and thought and should do much to remove the impression that Roman religion was mere 'dry bones.' Professor Halliday first became known to students of classical religion by his excellent essay on *Greek Divination*: may we hope that he will give us the book that has long been wanted on the difficult problem of Roman divination?

C. BAILEY.

POSTGATE'S *PROSODIA LATINA*.

Prosodia Latina. By J. P. POSTGATE, F.B.A. One vol. 8vo. Pp. 120 + 8. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923. 4s. 6d. net.

THIS excellent manual of Latin prosody supplies a long-felt need. It is based on expert knowledge of the structure of Latin verse of the classical period and scientific understanding of the sounds of Latin speech; it is therefore sure to do good service in dispelling the mist of error that hangs about terms like 'long by nature,' 'long by position,' and many other confused notions that infest the study of classical verse. 'For the first time the reader and composer of Latin verse are pointed to the realities of Latin speech, and protected by a special mark from the vulgar confusion of the quantity of a vowel and the quantity of a syllable' (Preface, p. iii). Another salutary feature of the book is that it leaves severely alone the bewildering maze of speculation in which the enquirer finds himself involved when he enters the field of advanced metrical theory. Professor Postgate's treatment of the Latin metres is concrete and intelligible.

In the following remarks I call attention to some of the salient features of the book, and at the same time offer a few suggestions which the author may perhaps deem worthy of consideration in a future edition. I am gratified that he has adopted my terms 'rise' and

'fall' in place of the terms 'thesis' and 'arsis' (or 'arsis' and 'thesis'); § 177. Whether it is desirable to put any mark on the rise (§ 178) I doubt; at any rate, I think it would be better to reserve the accent-mark to indicate word-accent and sense-stresses. It is probably only by an oversight that Professor Postgate speaks of the rise being 'on' the long syllable (§ 179), and 'on' the first of the two short syllables (§ 180, § 243): in a future edition I hope he will write 'the rise will be the long syllable' in § 179, and 'the rise consists of the two short syllables' in § 180.

The cardinal doctrine of the book is the doctrine of syllables and their quantities. I cordially approve of the caution of the statement, 'It is customary to assume that a long quantity (syllable?) takes double the time of a short quantity (syllable?), so that $\cup\cup = -$. These two assumptions are convenient but not strictly correct' (§§ 35, 36). Some of the later sections (e.g. § 176) might, then, be more explicitly guarded.

Professor Postgate bases his rules of quantity on syllable-division, which is undoubtedly the only right way of making quantities intelligible and not a mere matter of arbitrary rule or convention. It also simplifies the doctrine of quantity, provided that we can arrive at a correct rule of syllable-division. A difficulty, however, arises at one

point. 'A closed syllable (*i.e.*, a syllable that ends in and includes one or more than one consonant) is long' (§ 23). Thus the syllable *-mat* in *amat* is declared to be long, the *t* adding a second unit of time to the unit contained in the short *a* (§ 40); but in a sequence of words like *amat equos* the *t* is transferred by liaison to the following syllable, and what is left is the short syllable *-ma*: '*-mat* is a syllable only before a following consonant or at the end of a sentence or verse' (§§ 46, 47). But how, then, are we to scan *Dixerat. Ille patris magni parere parabat | Imperio* (*Aen.* iv. 238; *cf.* 161, 522, 641, etc.), or *Dixit: at illa furens, acrique accensa dolore* (*Aen.* xi. 709)? According to Professor Postgate's rule *dixerat* is here a cretic word (— —) and *dixit* a spondee; for the pause at the end of the first sentence makes it impossible to pronounce *Dixera-Tille* or *Dixi-tat*. No explanation is offered of such cases, which are by no means uncommon. No doubt Professor Postgate has some explanation of them in his mind; but he ought to have told his readers what it is. The difficulty does not arise under the old rule that a syllable containing a short vowel and a single consonant is short. My own experiments in syllable-measurement by means of the mechanism called the kymograph lead me to think that Sievers' statement in his *Grundzüge der Phonetik* that all closed syllables are long is an exaggeration of the phonetic facts. Another difficulty which arises under Professor Postgate's rule of liaison (§§ 43 ff.) is the length of a syllable ending in a mute and followed by a word beginning with a liquid, *e.g.* *at res*. Here 'no transference was allowed' (§ 48). But why not? In *pa-tres* the transference was the usual practice (§ 27). The obvious reason is that here there was no liaison: so that it is not quite true to say, as Professor

Postgate does (§ 25), that Roman speakers ended syllables with vowels *wherever they could*: a *tres* is by no means unpronounceable. And I feel sure that the Romans did not make *tibin' umquam* sound exactly like *tibi numquam*.

A small point arises in connexion with the marking of quantities. It has long seemed to me the simplest method to mark only the long vowels, and to treat the absence of any mark over a vowel as an indication of its shortness. The quantity of *syllables* might be indicated by the sign of syllable-division wherever so-called 'length by position' occurs within a word. Thus in § 114 Catullus 65. 22 might be written

| d(um) ad-ven-|tū mā | tris || prōsilit, |
ex-cuti|tur.|

Other points that I should like to see reconsidered in a future edition are (1) whether it is really true that initial consonants are 'too short to affect the quantity of a syllable,' § 37; (2) whether the pyrrhic ought to be treated as a foot, § 175; (3) whether it would not be helpful to the pupil and scientifically sound to bring in accent as an explanation of the legitimate hexameter endings, § 213; (4) whether any purpose is served by side-thrusts at English verse, *e.g.* § 323, p. 114. I see nothing 'ignoble' in the metre called the English sapphic, as used by F. W. H. Myers in his 'St. Paul,' or by Philip Pusey in his hymn beginning, 'Lord of our life and God of our salvation.' Nor do I agree that the five-foot lines quoted in § 10 are of 'the same kind.' The one is refined English verse, the other (though written by Shakespeare) is not. The statement in § 11 as to the effect of the English accent on quantity is misleading, and might have been omitted altogether with advantage.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

ERASMUS.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. ALLEN et H. M. ALLEN. Vol. IV. Pp. xxxii + 632, with three plates. Oxonii: In Typographeo Clarendoniano, MCMXXII. 28s. net.

THE third volume of Mr. and Mrs. Allen's work came out in 1913. After an interval of nine years we welcome the appearance of the fourth volume (shortly to be followed by a fifth) containing 259 letters, 212 from and 47 to

Erasmus, seven being printed for the first time, and covering the period July 1, 1519 to December 30, 1521. The volume is embellished by a reproduction of Quentin Matsys' medallion of Erasmus (1519), which shows well the delicate mouth and soft look of the eyes, by a drawing of Dürer (1520), and by a miniature with a kneeling figure of Colet, taken from a MS. of Erasmus' translation of St. Matthew. Erasmus' Latinity is as usual far above that of his correspondents, the only one of whom who approaches him at all being Germain Brie. But much of the volume is very dreary reading. It opens with the unprofitable controversy with Edward Lee, which shows Erasmus at his worst, touchy and vindictive. As a set-off may be mentioned his success in stifling the controversy between Brie and More, the latter of whom shows himself in letter 1,087 unusually irritable. He is often taking up the cudgels in defence of the professors of Busleiden's *Trilingue Collegium* at Louvain, and much of the volume is occupied by the interminable controversy with Louvain theologians, who were embittered by the writings of Luther and the suspicion that 'Erasmus had stitched the shoe and Luther put it on,' and by its repercussions at Rome, in Germany, and in England. At the end Erasmus has taken refuge at Basle from the worries of Louvain. There is some interesting correspondence with Bohemia, with the elder Turzo, Bishop of Breslau, and the younger, Bishop of Olmütz. Letter 1,111 to the Spanish scholar Vives, with its survey of the state of University teaching in Europe, contains the surprising exaggeration: 'In Germania tot fere sunt Academiae quot oppida.' Letter 1,033 to Albert of Brandenburg, which was in print (whether by Erasmus' fault or not, who shall say?) before he received it, letters 1,007 and 1,143 to Leo X. and the Pope's answer, 1,180, have considerable interest. But it is fair to say that Erasmus' correspondence with and about English friends is the most important part of the volume. There are thirty-four letters, including five to and four from More, four to Pace, three apiece to Wolsey, Fisher, and Lupset,

two to Warham, and one apiece to Henry VIII., Mountjoy, Foxe, Tunstall, Linacre, Guildford, Dancaister, and Lee: the latter replies with two letters written in good Latin style. Letter 999 is the well-known sketch of More, addressed to Hutten, and according to Mr. Allen 1519 is the correct date, not 1517, as Mr. Nichols thought. Mr. Allen is probably right in thinking that More at first wore a 'barba rario,' but after 1520 was clean-shaven, as all extant likenesses represent him. The beard, which had committed no treason, was doubtless grown in prison. The contrast of Fulvius and Rutuba with Apelles, occurring also in the preface to Jerome, vol. II., certainly suggests that Erasmus regarded them as inferior painters. In l. 252 Mr. Allen reads, 'et in his, materiis adoxis, quod in his . . .' This seems clumsy for Erasmus, who seldom writes so carelessly. Should the first 'in his' be omitted?

On September 16, 1519, Colet died, to the genuine grief of Erasmus, who writes sadly to Fisher: 'Erasmum etiam magis amplectere, quod Coletus aulsus dimidium reliquit.' On October 16 he begs Lupset to supply materials for a memoir. But Lupset, perhaps owing to ill-health, did not respond, and so out of his personal knowledge he addressed a biographical sketch of Colet on June 13, 1521, to Jodocus Jonas of Erfurt (1211), and, writing to Lupset on August 23, he says it is his fault if the portrait is unfaithful. Its contents are well known, the late Dr. Lupton having translated it with a commentary in 1883. It is to be assigned to 1521, not 1519. In l. 273 'nulli erat iniquior quam Augustino,' the statement is both surprising and, as Dr. Lupton showed, incorrect in fact. The form of the sentence suggests that Erasmus meant the opposite, that Augustine was the father in whom Colet took most delight; and it is not to the point that Erasmus was once himself accused of being 'iniquior Augustino.' Either he is unusually careless here, or the text is incorrect. It is difficult to suppose that the name Pullus given to Colet in the *Colloquia* is a bad pun (colt—Colet): why not the 'dark-robed one'? If in l. 355 'solarium' is the

right word, the variant 'coenaculum' shows the meaning to have been that St. Paul's School had no separate apartments for dining or sleeping. Whether Fitzjames was as conservative a theologian as Erasmus represents him (l. 530), the librarian of Merton, who has charge of Fitzjames' copy of Origen's *Homilies*, rightly doubts. It has been a puzzle why Colet so severely condemned the 'Collegia' (l. 484), as he could hardly have disapproved of the newer foundations at Cambridge and Oxford. Mr. Allen makes the attractive suggestion that it was the Colleges of Canons that were 'inuitabula ociosorum.' In favour of this is the form of the sentence: 'he disapproved of the Collegia, nor did he think as much as might have been ex-

pected ('perinde') of University courses of lectures.' As in the letter of August 1516 to Bullock (*Ep.* 456, 228-37), so in *Ep.* 1,111 he speaks highly of the theological course at Cambridge, and in *Ep.* 1,238 brackets Cambridge with Paris. Of Oxford it is only said that monastic influence had created opposition, but had been repressed by Wolsey and the King, an echo of the Greek and Trojan controversy.

We congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Allen on having made such progress with this truly monumental work, and hope they will be able to see a successful termination of their devoted labours. In no learned journal is it more appropriate that their work should receive due recognition than in the *Classical Review*.

G. C. RICHARDS.

THE MAKING OF LATIN.

The Making of Latin. An Introduction to Latin, Greek, and English Etymology. By R. S. CONWAY, F.B.A. Pp.viii + 146. London: John Murray. 5s. net.

PROFESSOR CONWAY'S aim in this little book is 'to explain the principles of the modern science of language and to indicate the chief result of these principles in the study of Latin, with some of the consequences in that of English and the Romance languages.' He has specially in view the needs of the schoolboy or schoolgirl of a classical sixth form.

The first three chapters are introductory. Chapter I. gives a brief sketch of the Indo-European group of languages, and a simple account of Phonetic Law and Analogy. Chapter II. deals with Phonetics. This is the chapter which beginners will doubtless find hardest, and which will require most explanation and addition by the teacher. It would have been improved by a fuller treatment of breath and voice, with some practical hints for distinguishing voiced and breathed sounds. Room might have been found by the omission of § 38 (Palatal Fricatives). A comparison of p. 11 with p. 20 might lead the reader to suppose

(1) that *wh* is pronounced fully and truly by the educated class in Edinburgh only, and (2) that the pronunciation *w* is a vulgarism. In Chapter III. the subjects discussed are Proethnic Indo-European, Grimm's and Verner's Laws, Accent and Ablaut. One cannot help thinking that the account of the first sound-shift would have been clearer to a schoolboy, if it had been done in the usual way by giving Grimm's Law first and then stating Verner's modification, and more easily remembered if more use had been made of the numerals (*e.g.*, *duō*, *trēs*, *decem*) as illustrations. Schoolboys and older people remember these laws by thinking of examples, and for this reason illustrations should be selected not merely for their interest (as *dūcō* = *teach*) but for the ease with which they may be recalled, and the hint that examples should be sought among nouns of relationship and numerals (with a warning to Latin students against using 'four' and 'five') I have found in a long teaching experience to be most serviceable and welcome to students.

Chapter IV. deals with the Sounds and Accent of Cicero's Latin, and Chapter V. with the Earlier Behaviour of the Latin Accent. The scheme of

Latin pronunciation is taken from the table issued by the authority of the Classical Association. It is late in the day to criticise this, but in a philology primer a loose expression like 'Isaiah (*broadly* pronounced)' should disappear, and 'plosives' should replace 'hard' in the statement of the pronunciation of *c, g, t*. The beginner will find 'Exon's Laws,' which are given pretty fully in Chapter V., a rather tough morsel.

The two most important chapters are VI. (Phonology) and VII. (Morphology). Professor Conway is very fair to the non-specialist teacher and pupil in 'distinguishing points which are only probable' from those which he 'counts certain.' Other specialists will naturally find among what Professor Conway counts certain not infrequent instances of what is to them only probable, and *vice versa*. In Chapter VI. the treatment is clear and the examples good. § 101 (pronunciation of *g* before *n*) should be transferred to Chapter V: In § 108 no examples are given of voiced plosives followed by *s*. Some will be found in § 300. § 111 (colloquial shortening of *n*) might well be left out of a little book like this, as might also §§ 151 and 162 (history of *-su-* and *-tn-*). It is very difficult to see a reason for the insertion of a page on the Indeterminate Gutturals (§ 173). On the other hand *-ss-*, from *-tt-*, *-dt-*, *-dht-* (§ 166), and the change of intervocalic *s* to *r* (§ 186), require much fuller illustration *on the spot*. In § 180 the phrase '*veho* Gr. *ἔχω* (older *ἔχω*) "I hold,"' without further note, is certainly misleading for the beginner. Where the Greek dialects attest *ἔχω* the word means 'carry,' 'offer,' etc., not 'hold' (**σέχω*).

In Chapter VII. Professor Conway does not attempt a complete account of Latin morphology, but the things that he selects are illuminating. The account of Gender at the beginning is excellent, and the explanations of difficult problems like the Gerundive and the passive *r* are well done. The selective method, however, leaves the reader rather bewildered, especially in §§ 223-263, and some rearrangement of these sections would make for greater coherence. The really serious omission

is the absence of a systematic discussion of the case forms. It is only incidentally that the student is made aware of the *d* of the ablative in Old Latin. In § 245 he is given a plausible explanation of the confusion of the consonantal and *-i-* declensions, but he is left wondering how *hostis* came to have a nominative plural *hostēs*—a reference to § 136 would have helped—or *rēx* an accusative plural *rēgēs*. In the same section the reference to phonetic changes in the genitive singular should either be omitted or explained and illustrated. In § 241 the student is referred to §§ 122, 131-2. If he goes on to read § 133 he will have to decide whether to believe the statement given there about the nominative plural of the first declension, or the statement in § 241 about the nominative plural feminine of *-o-meno-s*.

After dismissing rather cavalierly the discussion of the personal endings in § 281, Professor Conway repents, and in § 296 and §§ 309 ff. touches on some of the problems. § 296 might be omitted, or perhaps rewritten thus: 'the *peculiar* endings of the perfect *-ī*, *-tī*, and *-ere* are probably to be explained as middle terminations (see § 308).'

It is to be regretted that this most pleasant little book bears so many marks of over-hasty preparation for the press. The corrections necessary run to many scores. References are sown liberally in the text—and rightly—but often Professor Conway uses the sack and not the hand, and there are not a few wrong references. All Greek words are supposed to be translated. Large numbers are left untranslated (occasionally with disconcerting results to the Greekless reader). There is no consistency in the marking of the quantity of long vowels in Latin words: *mēns* gets its due mark (sometimes), but *pōns* is denied it, and a glance at p. 110 will show the vicissitudes of the *-ō* of the first person singular. In the placing or omission of the accent on Sanskrit words I can discover no rule but 'the taste and fancy of the speller' (e.g., *dadāmi* on p. 33, followed by *dadāmi* on p. 34). The same remark applies to the use of capitals and contractions.

Sanskrit and Sans. jostle one another, and there is a gay mixture of Old Latin, old Lat., Old Lat., while expressions like 'nominative singular masculine' have as many varieties as the spellings of 'college' or 'scholarship' in a sixteenth-century benefactor's will. The mark * is made to bear a heavy burden, and things like **Áchaevói*, **súpsmere*, **supogevō*, **énkritus*, lead to interesting reflections on the comparative chronology of phonetic laws. *iouxmentum* is an odd form to infer from the *iouxmenta*

of the inscription which first gave us the nominative *sakros*.

But these are very small things. Professor Conway makes his subject live. We feel that he is telling us a story that he himself is enjoying, and he tells it with a charm that holds our interest throughout. He deserves well of all who have at heart the study of language, and one hopes that *The Making of Latin* will soon be in the hands of every sixth form classical master and mistress in the country.

SIDNEY G. CAMPBELL.

TWO BOOKS ON GREEK SCIENCE.

Greek Biology and Medicine. By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. One vol. 12mo. Pp. xv + 153. London, Calcutta, Sydney: Harrap and Co. 5s. net.

Greek Biology and Greek Medicine. By CHARLES SINGER. One vol. 12mo. Pp. 128. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.

DOES the passion for history and archaeology, in our day so general, signify a waning of creative genius, a looking back of men not pressing forward to new ideals? The history of the day is inspired by the methods of natural science, which itself indeed is a kind of history, but more analytic and adaptive than creative. At any rate, we may be thankful that our history is good, and that good history is being served out to the public in portions as wholesome and digestible as the two little books before us. To present within the limits of some hundred and fifty small pages a summary of Greek biology and medicine, not without shrewd glances at later and even modern phases of these studies, seems to be, if not an impossible, yet a very difficult feat; yet these little volumes have gone far to attain it. They are brief without being superficial or crabbed, and are agreeably different in their ways. Dr. Taylor dwells more on general principles, Dr. Singer is more occupied with particulars, so that the two books are complementary. Dr. Singer indeed, in his ardour for scientific method, appears at times to vilipend the essential part of hypothesis in this method. As said

one of the most accurate of methodical experimenters, Dr. Stephen Hales, 'it is from these kind of conjectures that fresh discoveries first take their rise.'¹ Dr. Taylor has blended the biology and the medicine in one essay; Dr. Singer, perhaps to less advantage, has treated them separately. The disadvantage may be seen, for instance, in his biological section, where for the memorable Alexandrian school the reader is referred to the medical section.

Dr. Taylor dwells upon the wonderful Ionian mind, the fine qualities of which were diffused throughout the receptive Greek peoples. Dr. Singer makes a happy adventure among Minoan relics, and gives illustrations from vase paintings showing curiously exact observation of certain specific features in animal drawing; such as teeth, talons, and so forth. But I desiderate in both authors still a little more consideration of pre-Hippocratic medicine. Our materials are very scanty, it is true; but neither of them even alludes to the evidence of the Homeric epics. Dr. Singer, with the freshness of personal study, sets forth admirably the spirit and achievements of the Hippocratic and Cnidian schools; but it cannot be supposed that all this lore was won in a generation. 'Hippocrates' must have been the flower of a great Greek medical tradition owing curiously little to neighbouring lands; a vanished school to which Homer bears undesigned witness.

¹ *Statistical Essays* II., Praef. v., 3rd ed., 1769.

He was not content to recite in general terms the wounds of the warriors as mere casual slashing; he records each stab with anatomical precision, describing the path of the weapon and its effects.

Let us take a few out of many examples: The spear (E. 65-68), driven through the buttock, pierces the urinary bladder, and comes out under the symphysis pubis (*ὑπ' ὀστέον*). The rock hurled by Ajax strikes Hector on the breast; Hector turns faint, pants for breath, and *spits blood*. By an epigastric wound (II. 481) the *pericardium* is exposed (*ἐνθ' ἄρα τε φρένες ἔρχεται ἀμφ' ἄδινόν κῆρ*). In another place Homer explains (X. 328) that, after the spear of Achilles had transfixed his neck, Hector could still speak, because the weapon had missed the trachea—a neat bit of vivisection. Yet more remarkable is the record (Θ. 83-86) of the rotatory movements of one of the horses of Nestor which followed the stab of a spear at the base of the skull 'where the mane ceases' (*καίριον*, a deadly spot); the weapon had pierced into the cerebellum. And how Dantesque is the touch describing how the shaft of the lance which had pierced a warrior's chest throbbed with the throbbing of his heart. We may wonder not only at the poet's surgery, but also that his hearers were prepared to comprehend such particulars, as laymen might have done in the later time of Cato or Celsus.¹ We gather that there were many other *ιητῆρες κακῶν* with the Greek forces (see N. 213 ὁ δ' *ιητροῖς ἐπιτείλας*) beside Podaleirius and Machaon, who may have been chiefs of a great medical tradition or school. And no doubt there were many more among the *δημιοεργοί* in civil life. It would appear, not that the doctors grew out of the priests, but that the priests were parasitic on the doctors.

Dr. Singer's book is enlivened by many illustrations, some of which I have mentioned. Among others is one of the Socias vase, on which Achilles

is depicted skilfully bandaging the wounded arm of Patroclus. But this of course carries us down to the fifth and sixth centuries. In another edition Dr. Singer might add a print of the fragment of bas-relief figured by Inghirami (*Gall. Omerica*), on which Philoctetes appears with a cleverly bandaged foot.²

Both authors deal with Aristotle as adequately as possible within their limits, giving each about one-third of his space to this amazing man, so imperfectly or perversely appreciated until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dr. Singer speaks of his work as a man of science—well, so let it be, with some qualification. Was he not rather a naturalist of the kind of which Gilbert White was a lowly instance? Aristotle carried patient, vigilant, and precise observation of nature to a power beyond all other men. How marvellous this faculty was in him both our authors illustrate for us; but if science consists in the *experimental method*, this we can hardly claim for Aristotle. He made many experiments, as others had done before him, but he can hardly be said to have made them methodically on the principle of 'trial and error,' and control, unless in the sphere of embryology; but here the author of the *π. γονῆς* (e.g. Sect. II. 29, Littré) had preceded him. The honour of the *experimental method* we must attribute to Galen, who first made the call which Harvey, unwittingly perhaps, repeated: 'Don't think, but try!' Nevertheless, we are at one with Dr. Singer in resenting the precocious speculation which has been the mirage of natural research. A chief debt to the Ionian philosophers, Aristotle, and Galen, is that they taught men to regard the living body, and indeed the cosmos, as a whole—as a system of reciprocal reactions. This breadth of view extends to Aristotle's reflections on the mind in animals, in children, and in men and women. As Dr. Taylor says, we look to the great Greeks not for specific instruction, but for the spirit of research, wisdom, and ethics.

In view of new editions, we decidedly prefer Dr. Singer's plan of placing his

¹ The pest which attacked mules and dogs before men seems fortunately to be extinct; still, in this passage also we have some medical particulars.

² May *ἄστρος* possibly mean 'lint'?

notes at the foot of the page, and an index in each book would be welcome ; and I desire to protest against the fashion of certain printers of the day

who, as in Dr. Taylor's book, put the page numbers in the wrong place—an inconvenient and unscholarly freak.

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

SENECA'S MODERN MESSAGE.

Seneca : The Philosopher and his Modern Message. By R. M. GUMMERE. Pp. xvi + 150. London : Harrap, 1922. Cloth. 5s. net.

THE first volume of the new American series *Our Debt to Greece and Rome* is *Seneca the Philosopher and his Modern Message*, from the pen of the Loeb translator, Dr. R. M. Gummere.

The first chapter is biographical, the second deals with Seneca's influence upon Pagan Rome, the third with the appeal which his blend of humanity and Stoicism made to the Christian Church. The next three chapters describe successively his influence upon the medieval mind, the Renaissance, and Montaigne and the Elizabethans. The seventh chapter carries us from Bacon down to our own times. Two or three pages of 'Conclusions' suggest that the philosopher's influence is by no means spent, and are followed by brief notes and yet briefer bibliography.

There are some curious slips in the book, and indeed both arrangement and style sometimes give the impression of somewhat hasty composition. A passage from the second chapter may serve to show what I mean :

Literature was in the hands of specialists and the general public, especially in the age of Tiberius, was mentally starved. 'After the time of Augustus,' says Fronto, . . . one hundred years later, 'ideas were threadbare and mouldy. And the emperors from Tiberius to Vespasian were as much ashamed of the spoken and written word as they were disgusted with morals and sorry for crimes.' Something novel was necessary, and it was found in the development of the *elocutio novella*—the Euphuism of Rome—which began at this time to grow and which burgeoned to its full bloom in the period of the Antonines. Seneca adapted the language of the business world to the artificial style of the scholar and man of letters.

Surely this passage of Fronto (p. 123 n.) is concerned only with the *oratorical powers* of the emperors. Caesar

and Augustus, Fronto thinks, had some eloquence ; *nonnihil reliquiarum* (he goes on) *iam uietarum et tabescentium Tiberio illi superful(it)*. 'Ideas' is an interpolation of Dr. Gummere's, like 'spoken and written word' for *uerborum* just below: the threadbare, mouldy style was that of Tiberius, not his subjects. 'As for the emperors from thence onwards to Vespasian, they,' Fronto says, 'were all *eiusmodi ut non minus uerborum puderet quam pigeret morum et miseret facinorum*'—Rome was as ashamed of their eloquence as she was sick of their ways and sorry for their crimes. But even if Dr. Gummere's interpretation could be accepted, it would be impossible to accept his implication that the *elocutio novella* has anything to do with Seneca. It was just because his writings had none of the false antique about them that Fronto and Gellius, the chief representatives of that Wardour-Street style, had the contempt for him which Dr. Gummere describes so well on pp. 40-42.

This is by no means the only passage by which I think that non-specialist readers will be puzzled and perhaps positively misled. All the same, the book is full of interesting matter, and will be found invaluable by anyone who wishes to know the truth about one of the most misrepresented figures of Latin literature. Lovers of Seneca will rejoice that the task of writing it has been entrusted to hands so sympathetic ; those who still cling to the conventional view of his character (sufficiently represented by Milton's epigram 'Seneca in his books a philosopher') should read what Dr. Gummere has to say on the other side.

It would perhaps have been better to go a little more fully into the cases of writers upon whom Seneca exercised a really strong influence, such as Montaigne and Rousseau—even at the cost of sacrificing some quotations which

seem to me to have little to do with a modern message, and of which extreme examples will be found on p. 133 (quotation from 'Herman Melville, writer of sea-tales') and p. 134 (reference to a poem of R. W. Dixon's, in which Gallio describes to his brother Seneca the interview with St. Paul). We are told that Maeterlinck rates

Seneca high, in one of his essays refers to a saying of his, and expresses high esteem for Pintrel's version of the Letters: one would like to know whether the philosopher's influence upon him is really marked.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Sheffield.

THE IDEA OF IMMORTALITY.

The Idea of Immortality. (The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh in the year 1922.) By A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON. One vol. Pp. xii+210. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 12s. 6d.

THE review of Greek beliefs about immortality is mainly contained in three of the ten lectures in this volume. The author was not undertaking to add anything to our knowledge here, or even to set the known facts in a new light. Within its brief limits the treatment is lucid and well-informed. Orphism and its developments in Plato overshadow what Professor Pringle-Pattison calls the 'official faith in Greece.' He identifies this with the Homeric religion, and says that its effect was 'to make the idea of a future life entirely inoperative' (p. 22). It may, perhaps, be objected that the Eleusinian Mysteries (which are not mentioned) were 'official,' and that many initiates must have read into the promise of a 'better lot' in the other world more than the actual formulæ warranted. The statement that 'the later Pythagoreans, when they became a scientific school in the course of the fifth century, dropped altogether the religious and mystical side of their founder's teaching' (p. 33) ignores Philolaus and other Pythagoreans of the dispersal.

The author states in an interesting way the case against the animistic doctrine of a soul-substance. Some dissatisfaction may be felt with his description of the origin of this conception. He speaks of 'the notion of soul or ghost or spirit' as 'first framed by primitive man as an explanation of

certain features of his experience,' and calls animism a theory—'an effort to rationalise, to give a causal explanation of the pell-mell of occurrences' (p. 7). This seems to rest upon the very common fallacy that man in the myth-making stage behaves like the modern scientific man, who takes as his data the objective phenomena of the sense-world, and proceeds to construct hypotheses to reduce them to order. Is it not more likely that the 'notion,' or rather the *image*, 'of soul or ghost or spirit' is just as much a given fact as any sense-object, and is not distinguished as belonging to a different order from any other part of experience? Myths, and for that matter early scientific cosmologies, are not descriptions of natural phenomena accompanied by explanations or hypotheses: they are narratives, in which the natural and the imaginary elements are indissolubly fused. Not only is the image of the soul or ghost given in dreams and apparitions, but there is also the experience which gives rise to the continually reappearing notion of 'the one ego lying unchanged alike beneath its simultaneous variety and its temporal succession' (Lotze, quoted p. 79). I do not know whether this experience can be explained as the dim, but constant, awareness of the existence of the huge mass of mental content which is not within the shifting field of consciousness at any given moment. But I am convinced that the notion of substance as the permanent substrate persisting through change is not, as the author seems to hold (p. 73), originally derived from material bodies and thence applied to the soul. It is, on the contrary,

derived from the inner experience of personal continuity, and thence projected into the external world.

Such questions as these, however, cannot be pursued here; nor do these

differences of opinion much affect the value of Professor Pringle-Pattison's able review of ancient and modern beliefs.

F. M. CORNFORD.

GREEK MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICS.

Mathematics and Physical Science in Classical Antiquity. Translated from the German of J. L. Heiberg, by D. C. MACGREGOR. One vol. Crown 8vo. Pp. 110. Oxford University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d. net.

THE authorities of the Clarendon Press are to be congratulated on including in their series of *The World's Manuals* this admirable little book. Within its compass we know of no other sketch of Greek science to compare with it. It is also thoroughly trustworthy; for if anyone was ever qualified to write such a book it is Dr. Heiberg, who has himself edited the Greek text of most of the Greek mathematicians, to say nothing of Simplicius on the *De Caelo* of Aristotle, etc. The translation by Mr. Macgregor is, on the whole, extremely well done; and, by splitting up the long and sometimes involved German periods into shorter and crisper sentences, he has made the whole presentation more vivid and readable. Inaccuracies there are, but these are as a rule slight and do not detract greatly from the merit of the translation; some are misprints—e.g., 'last' for 'lost,' in line 19 of p. 75. It is necessary, however, to notice a few errors of substance which it would be well to correct when a reprint becomes necessary. (1) On p. 36 we are told that the curve on a sphere known as the *hippope* of Eudoxus 'was used by Archytas for the curve mentioned on p. 34.' This is incorrect;

Heiberg rightly says that Eudoxus' curve is 'akin to the above-mentioned curve of Archytas' ('verwandt mit,' 'akin to,' not 'used by' or 'for'). (2) The famous Cattle-Problem in the epigram attributed to Archimedes is said (p. 62) to 'concern the solution of an indeterminate equation.' Heiberg says: 'What is involved is a solution of indeterminate equations' (in the plural). The translator should have said 'a set of indeterminate equations'; but even Heiberg's statement is too compressed, and it would have been well to give a little more detail. (3) On p. 65 we learn that Apollonius, in the lost treatise in which he explained his system of expressing large numbers (in powers of 10,000), playfully connects this investigation with a verse 'the letters of which he added up according to their numerical value.' The mistake here is Heiberg's own ('addierte'). But the numbers represented by the letters in the hexameter were *multiplied*, not added; otherwise the example would not have served to illustrate Apollonius' system. For the sum of the numbers comes to 3,358 only, whereas their continued product contains, in our notation, 55 digits. (4) The curves investigated by Perseus (p. 76), 'die spirischen Linien,' were not 'spirals,' but *spiral* curves—i.e. curves produced by certain plane sections of the σπείρα, which was a *tore* or anchor-ring.

T. L. HEATH.

EPICURUS.

Epicuri epistulae tres et ratae sententiae a Laertio Diogene servatae. Edidit P. VON DER MUEHLL. One vol. 6" x 4". Pp. x+69. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. 3s. 6d.

THIS, which styles itself a school edition, is wholly devoted to the text. There is an ample *apparatus criticus* 2 or 3 inches deep on most of the pages (see p. 51); and in the Preface the editor deplores the modern tendency to curtail information respecting readings. Not content with minutely revising by repeated collations the work already done, he has used three new MSS.: one, Co, from the library of the old Seraglio at Constantinople, another, W, from the Vatican Library, both of which are allied to the best Paris MS., P. It is mentioned that sometimes the readings of Co agree with the corrections of the Borbonicus. The last of the three, Z, though worthless in itself, is of great interest, being claimed as the identical MS. provided by Marcus Aurigallus, from which Hieronymus Frobenius printed the *editio princeps*. The identification seems clearly made out. Amongst many instances in the *apparatus* where Z³ agrees, is one (§ 48) where they alone have the

true reading ἐπιπολῆς, which has in all other collated MSS. been supplanted by ἐπὶ πολλῆς. Some use has been made of various Byzantine epitomes. The most important, Φ, is ascribed, in part at least, to Hesychius of Miletus, whereas in reality it is of much later date. In constituting the text, Von der Muehl is as cautious as Bignone is enterprising. He relegates to critical notes many of Usener's emendations, so warmly praised by Bywater (*C.R.* II. p. 278 ff.). The treatment by the two men of the lacuna in § 39 (p. 5, 11) is instructive. Usener supplied thus: τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶ <σώματα καὶ τόπος>. His successor returns to Gassendi, who read σώματα καὶ κενόν, and three lines below εἰ <δὲ> μὴ ᾗν ὁ κενὸν καὶ χώραν καὶ ἀναφῇ φύσιν ὀνομάζομεν. Usener's choice of τόπος was prompted by his method of dealing with the second passage, where he altered τὸ πρόσθεν into τόπος δὲ, thus proceeding: τόπος δὲ εἰ μὴ ᾗν, ὃν κενὸν . . . ὀνομάζομεν.

Gassendi reaches the desired end with the minimum of change, but does not account for the well-supported reading δ* of the Borbonicus which has become ὃν in PCoFZ¹. The

glosses and scholia, which Usener separated from his text and printed between it and the critical notes, return, in this new edition, to their place in the codices (though in smaller type, between round brackets), even if, as in § 40 (p. 6, 3 f.), it be between the article *τὸν* and its noun *σώματων*. The editor adopts the view which makes these insertions responsible in some measure for corruption or occasionally for a lacuna. Thus he extends by one line the intrusive matter in § 50 (p. 11, 3), and treats in the same way as an insertion in § 133 (p. 50, 1-4) the well-known defence of free will, actually prefixing <λέγει ἐν ἄλλοις. . . >.

Wherever Epicurus said this, he must have been wrought up (as in the letter to Menoeceus) to a fine fervour, to judge by the avoidance of hiatus. Misprints are rare, but on p. v 1523 should be 1533: in *apparatus* to § 143 (p. 53, last line) there is a false concord. On p. viii will be found a very useful list of articles and reviews bearing on the textual criticism of Epicurus. Although the strong point of this recension is its adhesion to the codices, sound emendations, e.g. *ἐν τε* (Arndt) in § 38 and *συμμένει* (Bywater) in § 140, long overdue, win just recognition.

R. D. HICKS.

ROMAN GAMES.

Recherches sur les Jeux romains: Notes d'Archéologie et d'Histoire religieuse. ANDRÉ FIGANIEL. One vol. 250 mm. x 165 mm. Pp. vi.+155, 2 plates (full-page). Strasbourg: Librairie Istra; Oxford University Press, 1923. Fr. 8 (3s. 6d.).

THIS work is the latest *fascicule* of the publications issued by the Faculté des Lettres at Strasbourg. As might be expected from M. Piganiol, it shows ingenuity and learning. The subject is in general the religious significance of the Roman *ludi*, various aspects of which are discussed in a series of essays, new or republished with slight alterations.

The first (*Consus, Dieu du Cirque*) maintains the thesis that the underground altar of that deity was a *mundus* or *puteal*, by which M. Piganiol understands a *bouche infernale*, and that the games were in essence a rite of chthonian or funereal nature, which seems to lose sight of the extreme probability of Consus and his altar having been there before anyone thought of using the *uallis Murciae* to hold races in. Chapter II. (*La Pompa du Cirque*) deals with Fabius Pictor's account of the votive games of A. Postumius. Chapter III. ingeniously suggests that many Etruscan mythological scenes are taken from Etruscan tragedies; Chapter IV. discusses two interesting frescoes from Ostia; Chapter V. has a very seductive explanation of the miraculous burning of Acestes' arrow in *Aen.* V. 522 ff.: it typifies the apotheosis of Aeneas, and by implication that of Caesar. The sixth chapter, the last of the first part of the book, suggests that the *trinci* or *trinqui* of the inscription of Marcus Aurelius (Dessau 5163, 9340), regulating the prices of gladiators, are victims put to death by mutual slaughter in a Gaulish rite.

So far the author has been ingenious, suggestive, and often probably right. In the second part of his book he strikes the reviewer as very faulty. There is first a discussion (Chap. I.) of the relation of the *ludi magni* to votive games, which partly depends on M. Piganiol's own

theory of the plebs, and must stand or fall with it. After two more essays on particular points come three articles of wider scope: *Le Sens religieux de la Victoire*; *Les Munera*; *Le Sens religieux des Jeux*. Here he seems to display a curious lack of historical perspective, coupled with a most uncritical handling of evidence. Thus in discussing Victoria, whom he wants to prove originally a sort of Valkyrie or *κηρ θανάτου*, he gives us the strangest mixture of savage ideas, hypothetical early Italian beliefs, Greek and Etruscan rites, all in explanation of this abstraction, almost certainly of latish date, in Roman cult. Of his use of texts, two examples may be given. He cites, p. 88, Terullian's scornful words, *quo differt ab epulo Iouis silicernium?* (*Apol.* 13), and proves from that the funereal or chthonian character of the *ludi*. Has it not struck him that the words are taken from a Christian apologist, and their author, like all his kind, accepted the futilities of Euhemeros? On p. 116 he states that 'Une Niké grecque est une Furie, fille de l'Océanide Styx, sœur de divinités cruelles,' for which he cites Hes. *Theog.* 382 ff. But a brief inspection of that passage in its context shows that Hesiod is simply allegorising, as he so often does; Hatred is the mother of Emulation and Victory, also of Strength and Might, without which the palace of Zeus, among other things, cannot subsist. It is a bit of naïve moralising, showing that out of evil cometh good, and has nothing whatsoever to do with cult. In the last two essays the reviewer is of opinion that M. Piganiol is obsessed by 'chthonian' ritual, and that he is very far from having analysed that very complex stratum.

It is much to be hoped that an investigator of such ability and diligence will add to his existing good qualities a severe criticism of his own and other people's theories, and a nicer sense of historical and literary perspective. We should then have from him work of lasting value, as well as of stimulating interest.

H. J. ROSE.

THE LUPERCALIA.

The Lupercalia. By ALBERTA MILDRED FRANKLIN. One vol. 245 mm. x 160 mm. Pp. 105. New York, 1921.

IT is fortunately not necessary for the student of ancient religion to be eminent in archaeology,

philology, and anthropology, as well as in his own speciality; but it is his duty to make himself acquainted with the latest results of those sciences. This the author of the above dissertation (a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. at

Columbia University) cannot be said to have done. The calmness with which she assumes, for example, that the original speakers of Wiro—to use Dr. Giles's convenient substitute for the unsatisfactory 'Indo-Germanic'—were identical with the Alpine stock, and that the *terramara* people were Alpines; the persistent manner in which she labels them 'Aryans,' as if India, and not Italy, were her subject; the certainty with which she speaks of 'Mediterraneans,' as one race (such trifles as the difference between Grimaldi, Crô-Magnon, Combe Capelle, etc., do not seem to trouble her); the ease with which she derives *Δυκάιος* from *λύκος*, are equalled only by the childlike trust she reposes in the dicta of Ettore Pais, and the readiness with which she believes that product of *decrepita Graecia*, as Cobet well termed it, the *Parallela Minora*. Beside such things as

these, and a knowledge of comparative religion which has got but little beyond Tylor and Mannhardt, small slips, such as *Aiyvaia*s for the nominative, and *pomoerium*, do not matter much.

The collection of material is painstaking and useful. The explanation given of the ritual of the Lupercalia is that there was originally a cult of a chthonian wolf-god, 'Pelagian' or 'Mediterranean' in origin; and that borrowings from the worship of Iuno, a Sabine rite of purification by the sacrifice of a dog, and, finally, Orphic ceremonies introduced in the second Punic War, were successively superimposed upon this basis. Through this very hazardous theory come every now and then flashes of ingenuity and insight, which suggest that, as her scholarship ripens, Dr. Franklin will produce something really worth writing.

H. J. ROSE.

PROFESSOR LINDSAY'S *PALAEOGRAPHIA LATINA*.

Palaeographia Latina. Part I.: Edited by PROFESSOR W. M. LINDSAY. [St. Andrews University Publication XIV.] One vol. 8vo. Pp. 66. Five plates (collotype). Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1922. 5s.

SCHOLARS have long felt the need of a vehicle for purely palaeographical investigations. In France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, thanks to periodicals like the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, *Revue des Bibliothèques*, *Neues Archiv*, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, or the *Archivio storico Italiano*, it was now and then possible to find space for palaeographical discussions. In England and America the difficulty was considerable. This lack has now been remedied by the appearance of a journal devoted solely to Latin palaeography, whose chief interest will be Latin book-script, to about the middle of the eleventh century. 'The journal will be cosmopolitan. Articles in French, Italian, and German will be as welcome as those in English.' It is to appear semi-annually, and the present cost is five shillings the single issue. It augurs well for the future of the journal that its founder and editor is one who, by his own researches, and by furthering the researches of others, has done more for palaeography than any other living scholar.

The first issue contains two parts: I. The Letters in Early Latin Minuscule (till c. 850), by the Editor (pp. 7-61); II. Some Early Scripts of the Corbie Scriptorium, by the late P. Liebaert (pp. 62-66). Four plates illustrate Part II., and one plate Part I. Both parts constitute distinct contributions to palaeography.

In the half-century since Wattenbach published his *Anleitung*, Latin palaeography, thanks chiefly to Traube, has made enormous progress. Especially noticeable is the change in the point of view. We are no longer content with merely registering specimens. We strive to classify our examples, to discover their mutual relationship, and to point out the

larger bearing of these facts upon philology and history. It is this method that differentiates Lindsay's treatment from Wattenbach's. 'In writing this account,' says Professor Lindsay, 'I have sought to help (1) palaeographers, by supplying suitable names, under which this or that form can be referred to (e.g., cursive Insular *e*) and (2) Latin scholars, by showing what letters and ligatures of letters were most easily mistaken by medieval transcribers.' Every palaeographer, and every Latin scholar whose researches bring him in contact with our oldest Latin MSS., will lose no time in acquainting himself with the mass of important material crowded into these sixty pages. It is safe to say that not another living scholar could have given us this study, for it is based on personal inspection of a great many hundred MSS. examined and re-examined during countless *itinera palaeographica*. To one who, like the reviewer, has been privileged to see a good many of these MSS. himself, it is a temptation to go into detail with regard to each letter discussed. But, within the limits of this review, it is impossible to say more than that Professor Lindsay's study is full of good observations and helpful hints, and is henceforth indispensable.¹

Of smaller interest to classical scholars, but of quite unusual importance to palaeography,

¹ Letter *Q*: the open form, resembling Wini-thar's variety, is found in the sixth-century palimpsest Vatic. lat. 5766. It would be important to establish if this is a Burgundian variety. Letter *R*: the elongated form found in Visigothic script (Cava Bible) in the ligature *rn*, *rm*, deserve mention. Letter *Z*: a form resembling figure 2 with the main stroke descending far below the line, and the upper curve shrunk to a narrow loop, is found in the curious minuscule of Verona 62 (60). The unique form to which attention is called in the Bobbio Missal is not a *z* but a *c*, as Delisle correctly interpreted. The same form occurs in the words *citi* and *cesares* and *factam* on the page that has *lacarus* (fol. 8).

is Part II., containing Professor Lindsay's account of Liebaert's views of the development of writing at Corbie during the eighth century. It took the fine eye of Liebaert to discover that what Traube has called the 'old script of Corbie' (which I call the *a-b* type) was by no means the oldest minuscule practised in that celebrated centre; that, in fact, three other distinct types of minuscule preceded it. 'Preceded' is the word used by the editor, but it would perhaps be more accurate to say synchronised with it. These types are (1) the beautiful minuscule with characteristically tall *e* (when in ligature with *r* or *s*, etc.), and maiuscle *N*; (2) the Leutchar type, of about the middle of the century (this type I should call Corbie half-uncial in its latest stages; it is not minuscule properly speaking; if it is, there is no sense in retaining the classification half-uncial, which I contend serves a useful purpose); (3) the Maudramnus type, named after a Corbie abbot (772-780). This is a perfectly developed minuscule of the Caroline type, with the typical Corbie form of *y*. These three types are unmistakable, and it is greatly to Liebaert's credit that he recognised and described them. What a loss his premature death has been to palaeography can be gathered from this discovery alone. The statement, however, that these three types are older than the *a-b* type, the present writer finds it hard to accept. During the eighth century Corbie was a great centre for the copying of books. This is proven by a large quantity of eighth-century MSS. coming from Corbie. The graphic features presented by these MSS. suggest that two streams of influence met at Corbie and flowed side by side for nearly a century. I should call the one the Luxeuil influence, the other the Tours influence, using Tours and Luxeuil not so much to indicate direct impact of these two abbeys upon Corbie as to express the two types of writing represented by these abbeys. The script we call Luxeuil was certainly known and probably used

at Corbie (witness MS. Paris lat. 12205).¹ It is the direct progenitor of the Laon type, of the *b* type, and of the *a-b* type. It can be proven that the peculiar *b* typical of the *a-b* MSS. was known at Corbie while the *e-n* type was in use,² and that this type was in use while Lindsay's fourth type was in vogue. The glorious series of MSS. in the *a-b* type represent the highest point reached in a development that goes back to the seventh century, and may be said to have started with such books as the Paris Avitus (MS. 8913). While this development was taking its natural course, which was not limited to Luxeuil and Corbie (some day we may discover that it penetrated south as far as Paris, certainly as far as Beauvais), there is noticeable in France another tendency—I refer to the attempts at a minuscule based upon what Traube calls quarter-uncial. This tendency bore its finest fruit in the products of the school of Tours. Its early efforts may be studied in such examples as Épinal 68, and Paris Nouv. Acq. 1575. These two tendencies met and ran a parallel course at Corbie; for otherwise, one would have to assume that, for some inexplicable reason, a Merovingian type (*a-b* type) was allowed to re-appear, and to be cultivated to the highest point of perfection, despite the fact that under abbots Leutchar and Maudramnus a simple, clear, and extremely legible minuscule had been developed. That assumption seems untenable. But the last word on the school of Corbie has not been spoken. It is devoutly to be hoped that a more detailed treatment, based upon Liebaert's notes on the subject, will be forthcoming.

E. A. LOWE.

¹ On fol. 157, after the colophon, we have a line in Luxeuil script. On fol. 2, the pen trial *dnē ihū xpē* is in pure Corbie *a-b* type; on fol. 26^v there are four lines in the *e-n* type.

² See Paris lat. 4403A fol. 181, and Paris lat. 13347 fol. 23^v.

Early Latin Hymns. With Introduction and Notes by the late A. S. Walpole. (Cambridge Patristic Texts.) One vol. 8vo. Pp. xxviii + 446. Cambridge University Press, 1922. 15s. net.

MR. WALPOLE had originally intended to present in a single *Corpus* all Latin hymns not only written but sung in church before 600 A.D. Considerations of space induced him to change his purpose, omitting some as of inferior literary merit (*e.g.*, only one by Ennodius is included), and others of whose date there is doubt or dissension in the world of scholarship.

Mr. Walpole died in 1920. A few days before his death he sent his material to Dr. A. J. Mason, who has completed the task with the piety which might have been expected of him, and the result is a work of great utility to classical scholars and hymnologists alike; but the notes could not be used as they stood, and in some departments (*e.g.*, the *apparatus criticus*) he has been forced to depart widely from Mr. Walpole's scheme.

A general introduction explains the supersession of the 'Old Hymnal' (of Benedict, Caesarius, and Aurelian of Arles) by the 'Later Hymnal,' whose contents are found in English and Irish manuscripts. The latter has won the day in the services of the Church, and the former is only represented by some survivors in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic liturgies. A few however from the earlier collection appeared in the later as well, including some by St. Ambrose himself, and that is why we are still familiar with such fine poems as *Aeternae rerum conditor* and *Aeterna Christi munera*.

All the important hymns are provided with an individual introduction, giving any possible clue to date and authorship; and below the text is (1) a careful *apparatus criticus* (in which indeed there is almost more detail than the average scholar requires), and (2) an explanatory and illustrative commentary. Good examples may be found in the two splendid odes composed by Venantius Fortunatus for the reception at Poitiers by Queen Radegund of

the fragment of the True Cross sent her from Constantinople, *Pange lingua gloriosi, and Vexilla regis prodeunt*. With the information here provided the reader is able to grasp the occasion of their writing, the extent to which these were afterwards (and are still) liturgically used, and to construe them word for word—a process not always easy, the Latin being at once so compact and allusive. (I could wish that Mr. Walpole or Dr. Mason had occasionally given a reference to standard English translations by Dr. Neale or others; some whose Latin is a little rusty would have been glad to help themselves by being able to turn up an English version in *Ancient and Modern* or the *English Hymnal*.)

A few general grammatical notes conclude, but do not quite complete, the volume, for a metrical appendix would have been welcome. The student has here the 127 best hymns of the early Church; and it is to be hoped that the book will receive attention, not only from the ecclesiastical student, but also from the Latin scholar who has no particular interest in things liturgical or ecclesiastical. The successful adaptation of Latin to a totally new set of ideas and ideals, proceeding from a very different culture, is a linguistic phenomenon which should excite both our surprise and admiration; and many of the hymns here edited (such as the two last mentioned above) compare favourably as pure poems with any secular literature of the Silver Age.

S. GASELEE.

An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata.

By F. OSWALD and T. DAVIES PRYCE. One vol. 4to. Pp. xii + 286. Eighty-five full-page plates with explanatory text. London: Longmans, 1920. £2 2s.

FOR the last twenty-five years a knowledge of 'Samian Ware' has been recognised as one of the most important qualifications for any student of Roman Imperial archaeology, and the subject has during that period steadily increased in difficulty owing to the rapid accumulation of knowledge concerning the history and development of this kind of pottery. In 1896 Dragendorff classified its products into over fifty standard shapes; in 1904 Déchelette published his monumental work on the decoration of central and southern Gaulish wares; and a number of other students helped to accumulate a mass of literature, all of which had perforce to be mastered, more or less, by anyone who undertook to study the most insignificant Roman provincial site. The time was ripe for a comprehensive work, in which all the available material should be sifted and digested; and it is a matter for congratulation that the work has been done, and thoroughly well done, by English hands. Messrs. Oswald and Pryce realised the necessity of such a book while engaged in excavation, an experience shared by plenty of other excavators; but they went further, and set about filling the gap of which we were all conscious. The result is that they have produced a standard work. Constant use of the book only increases one's idea of its value, and every excavator of a Roman site in

Britain will keep a copy on his office table. As for Continental archaeologists, if they do not use it the loss will be theirs, for they have no book that can quite take its place.

The authors have wisely not attempted to supersede all previous works, and for the identification of decorated fragments (for instance) Déchelette is as necessary as ever. But Messrs. Oswald and Pryce have done at least one piece of work which supplements Déchelette—namely, the collection of types of ovolo. This will be of very great value to the working archaeologist. For the most part, however, they approach the decoration of Samian vessels with an eye rather to its historical antecedents than to its minute variations from potter to potter. The plates, excellent though they are for their purpose, suffer from a certain inelegance and crudity of draughtsmanship. For this we do not blame the authors. They have rightly chosen to do their own drawings as best they can rather than to hire a skilled artist whose archaeological knowledge would be inferior to their own. A man may draw well, but if he does not know exactly what to look for his drawings are archaeologically valueless, and it is better to have illustrations done by the man who knows what he wants illustrated than by one who can turn out a prettier finished picture. Mr. Oswald's drawings may be artistically poor, but archaeologically they are excellent.

R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi. By J. M. HARDEN, B.D., LL.D. One vol. Demy 8vo. Pp. xxxi + 196. London: S.P.C.K., 1922. 10s.

THIS excellent critical edition of Jerome's translation of the Psalter from the original Hebrew raises the Psalter to the level, not only of the remaining Canonical Books of the Vulgate Old Testament, but of the critical Oxford *Editio Minor* of the New Testament. It stands related to the Gallican Psalter of the 'authorised' Vulgate much as the Psalter of our Revised Version does to that of the Anglican Prayer-Book.

The history and relative value of the various MSS. collated, and the principles on which the resultant text is based, are fully and clearly set forth in the introduction, and the evidence for the reading adopted in each case is given in the footnotes. Thus the text is derived from original research, and is not a mere recension of any former edition.

Noteworthy features are: British MSS. are here used for the first time (not to speak of the famous Codex Amiatinus); the numerous quotations found in the *Speculum* are marked in the text; and three valuable indices are appended, giving a list of late or unusual words and of important various readings.

In short, Dr. Harden has conferred a great boon on Vulgate students, and is to be congratulated on the result of his arduous and scholarly labours.

W. E. PLATER.

Theory of Advanced Greek Composition, with Digest of Greek Idioms. By JOHN DONOVAN, S.J., M.A. Two vols. Demy 8vo. Vol. I.: pp. xiv+124; Vol. II.: pp. 208. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921-2. Vol. I., 5s. net; Vol. II., 7s. net.

THIS is a most useful book, but it is a pity that the author does not indicate in the Preface to Part I. how he advises the reader to deal with the mass of material he has collected. In the Preface to Part II. he says that 'it will be advisable for students who have already acquired some knowledge of Greek' (surely there will be no others who will venture on two volumes—and apparently a third to follow—on Advanced Greek Prose Composition!) 'to begin by assimilating the general principles set forth in this second part.' But before the reader reaches this point, he may have been disheartened by the unnecessary multiplication of 'Processes' in the Introduction to Part I. and the somewhat frigid and over-elaborate classification that follows, and may lay the book aside without realising that the author is really concerned almost entirely with what is, after all, the crucial test—the process of finding Greek vocabulary and idiom.

This process is in point of fact so difficult for the average composer that all others must be subordinated to it, and elaborate systems break down accordingly. Father Donovan, after proposing his system, is practical enough to concentrate almost exclusively on his Process 3, which is 'the finding by the student of Greek equivalents of the various portions of the English he is about to transfer into Greek.'

The Classification of the Fundamental Differences in Part II. is very good, and it is quite possible to read this part as a whole, as well as to use it for reference. From it further references to Part I. can be advantageously pursued, if desired. In this way the book can be systematically used, and the alphabetical arrangement of the examples will also be of assistance. But in any case, if we open the book purely at random and read a few pages, the wealth of illustration is so great that we cannot fail to establish a more intimate acquaintance with the particular subject treated. The author is fully justified in claiming that each chapter of the work constitutes an independent treatise, which may be studied separately on its own merits; but here again it would perhaps have been wiser to give the reader this hint in the Preface to Part I.

J. E. SCOTT.

[*Iamblichus*] *Theologoumena Arithmeticae*. Editio VICTORIUS DE FALCO. 12mo. Pp. xvii+90. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922.

AFTER more than a century of complete neglect the appearance of a readable and accessible text of the *Theologoumena Arithmeticae* was long overdue. The *editio princeps* (Paris, 1643) was based on a single manuscript, and that an exceedingly corrupt one. Ast, who re-edited the work in 1817, used no manuscript *subsidia* whatever; he emended conjecturally some of the more obvious errors of the Paris text, but reprinted many more, and added yet others of

his own. Both editions are now scarce. Signor de Falco has done much to remedy this discreditable condition of affairs. His thorough collation of eight out of nine known manuscripts has furnished many new readings and enabled him to construct a *stemma codicum*, which at last makes a critical edition possible. His temperament as an editor is, however, unduly conservative: he relegates to footnotes some practically certain emendations (e.g. at p. 76, l. 12); and he retains without comment a number of readings which can hardly stand—e.g. p. 7, l. 16, τοῦτο αὐτὸ (read τὸ αὐτὸ); p. 47, l. 14, διχῇ (the context surely requires τριχῇ); p. 58, l. 9, πρὸς αὐτοῖς (read πρὸς αὐτὰς). On p. 44, l. 4, ἐπὶ μέρους seems a certain correction for ἐπιμελοῖς or ἐπὶ μελοῖς: cf. p. 50, ll. 18 f. P. 45, l. 8, the structure of the sentence appears to demand εἰ διαρθρωτικῇ. On the other hand, at p. 84, l. 6, no remedy is needed except the removal of the comma after ἐξαιρετίον. A good many other and more difficult passages still invite the acumen of the ingenious reader, particularly where the two best MSS., both unfortunately fragmentary, fail us. An intelligible translation of the whole work would be very welcome, especially to the non-mathematical.

A valuable feature of Signor de Falco's edition is the large collection of references to parallel passages, not only in Anatolius *περὶ δεκάδος* (one of the chief immediate sources of the *Theologoumena*), but in Lydus, Theon of Smyrna, Philo, etc. Despite the unbelievable puerilities in which it abounds, the *Theologoumena* is an important text for our knowledge of Pythagorean science. The future historian of Pythagoreanism—if a being so adventurous should yet appear—will have to undertake a critical study of the book, with a view to determining how much of its subject-matter can be traced back to the early Academy and how much to pre-Platonic sources. Signor de Falco has at least laid the foundations for such a study.

E. R. DODDS.

A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era. By LYNN THORNDIKE, Ph.D. Two volumes. Pp. xli+835; ix+1036. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. Cloth, \$10.

IN this rich storehouse of learning the part which concerns classical authors, though copious, is comparatively small; it is prefatory to the author's main interests, and it is more of a survey than a history. Let it then suffice to say that Dr. Thorndike's work must be used by anyone who deals with the scientific and magical lore of Pliny, Seneca, Apuleius, Ptolemy, Galen, Plutarch, and the rest, and that he will be helped by ample extracts, references and indexes.

E. HARRISON.

Namenbuch. By Dr. F. PREISIGKE. Pp. viii+264. Heidelberg, 1922. Obtainable from the author, price \$7, or current equivalent.

THIS is a collection of all the personal names so far recovered from the Greek documents of

Egypt, whether preserved on papyrus, ostraca, or other material. Dr. Preisigke, the compiler, is not only an experienced editor of papyri, but also a systematic collector of the corrections which have been made from time to time in the published texts (the fourth and concluding part of his *Berichtigungsliste* has just appeared), and he therefore possessed special qualifications for his laborious task, which has been carried out with characteristic care and thoroughness. The book will not appeal to a wide circle, but as a contribution to the study of Egyptian nomenclature and as a work of reference for those who are concerned with Graeco-Roman documents from Egypt it will be of great service.

Dr. Preisigke has been so untiring in the provision of aids to papyrologists, that one is tempted to wonder whether he will add yet further to their indebtedness, and to suggest that the logical sequel of this index of names would be the general *index verborum*, which may now be reckoned the principal need of the subject. It would no doubt be a serious undertaking, but he would discharge it with the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of effort.

A. S. HUNT.

Orosiana: Syntaktische semasiologische und kritische Studien zu Orosius. Inaugural-dissertation von JOSEF SVENNUNG. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xii+201. Uppsala: A.-B. Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1922. About 9s. 6d. (8 Swedish kr.).

THE year 1907 saw the publication of Einar Löfstedt's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität*, and with it the foundation of the Swedish school of Latinists, which is now making a bold bid for the primacy in Latin study. The school shows signs of thorough training, takes the whole field of Latin from Plautus to Gregory the Great for its province, and has at its command a practically complete collection of all modern works on Latin that matter, both great and small. The productions of the Swedish school are nearly all written in German, and are thus easily accessible. The moving spirit of the whole is Löfstedt himself. The best works are from his own pen, but his influence can be traced in the writings of pupils like Salonijs and Svennung.

The present work is much larger and much more important than the usual dissertation. The syntactical part is divided into seven chapters, concerned with case syntax, use of prepositions, use of adjectives and numerals, use of pronouns, the verb, use of certain particles, *constructio ad sensum*, ellipsis, brachylogy and anacoluthon. The semasiological part is subdivided into four chapters, dealing with substantives, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. The critical part contains an estimate of the relative value of the manuscripts of Orosius and some miscellaneous critical notes. One appendix treats Orosius's use of the *clausula*, and the other contains an edition—the first published—of a pseudo-Orosian letter to Augustine.

The author has made a thorough study of his subject, and his treatment is convincing.

Orosius is not, of course, a writer of primary importance, either for the historian or for the philologist, but account must be taken of him in any comprehensive treatment of Latin literature and language. The work of Svennung contains much that is of importance for the student of classical Latin also. There is, for example, an excellent excursus on the temporal *genetivus relationis*, covering the whole history of the language from Cato the Censor down to the sixth century of our era. The space allowed here forbids the addition of examples from other authors to illustrate Svennung's treatment of various topics. I will merely add another example of *quisquislibet* from Hilarius ap. Augustin. *epist.* 226, § 6. In deciding for the shorter form *idolatria* in preference to the longer form *idololatria* in Orosius, it seems to me that Svennung has come to the wrong conclusion. After a certain date the tendency to write the shorter form was almost irresistible, but what that date was no one has yet told us. The proper procedure would be to find the oldest MS. (of any author whatsoever) that uses the short form, and argue from that. I do not myself believe that the short form existed as early as Orosius. On p. xii for 'VII. (bis *forum*)' read 'VI. (bis *forum*).'

The excellence of this work augurs well for the author's future as a scholar.

A. SOUTER.

Zur Textkritik der Pliniusbriefe. By GUNNER CARLSSON. One vol. 10¹ × 7". Pp. 74. Lund: Gleerup; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1922. Price Kr. 2.50.

THIS dissertation, in a University series from the Seminar of Professor Löfstedt of Lund, is a competent piece of critical work, sober and methodical, clearly argued and lucidly written. Its author takes his material from the recent edition of Professor E. T. Merrill, which was briefly reviewed in the *C.R.* for this year, pp. 35 ff. In the Introduction we have an account of the sources of the text of Pliny's epistles and of the progress of its establishment up to the present time. The remainder of the dissertation deals with the textual problems. I have already said that in editing Pliny's letters the chief task was to choose between the variants. Mr. Carlsson in the main addresses himself to one part, but this the chief part of this task—discrimination between the lections of the 'Ten-Book' or BF family and the 'Nine-Book' or MV family. These two differ so much from each other in omissions or insertions, in word-order, as well as in linguistic variants, that they must represent different recensions. Professor Merrill, in disagreement with Keil but in agreement more or less with Kukula, is in general an adherent of the BF family. The greater part of Mr. Carlsson's book is taken up with showing in detail that this adherence is mistaken. Of word variants I need not give examples here, for in the notice already referred to readers of the *C.R.* will find comments on a number of passages where, without regard to their source, BF readings adopted by Mr. Merrill are condemned as intrinsically

inferior. Such we have in ii. 14. 3, iii. 5. 5, iv. 12. 3, v. 6. 4, v. 16. 7, all of them discussed by Mr. Carlsson, and with the same conclusion. In ii. 11. 24, however, where Mr. Merrill with MDV reads 'casu an conscientia fuerat,' I pronounced for the reading of F which adds 'incertum' after 'casu.' After reading Mr. Carlsson's note I now think that here too the MD reading may be right, although no exact parallel to this Tacitean ellipse has been cited from Pliny. To the differences, at first sight very puzzling to students of the text, between the two families in the order of words, a whole chapter is devoted, and the greater trustworthiness of the MD tradition is shown from the places where its readings accord better than its rivals' with the requirements of rhythm and Plinian usage. The author is, however, no slave to a formula. He is aware that 'Keine Handschrift oder Handschriftenfamilie ist fehlerfrei' (p. 23) and he gives examples which, as ii. 5. 9 'me esse credam' MV, 'esse me credam' F Douxa, show that the MD family has its lapses. In his third chapter Mr. Carlsson deals with the recently discovered Pierpont Morgan uncial fragment and the Aldine edition. Both these give the BF tradition, which, with its characteristic depravations, thus goes back at least to the sixth century. A fourth chapter discusses the reading of particular passages. J. P. POSTGATE.

C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani. By RODGER F. GEPHART. Pp. 120. Philadelphia, 1922.

THIS thesis takes the form of an edition of Suetonius' *Life of Domitian*, in which parallel passages from other authors are quoted in full. In the notes the best authorities are followed, and they will prove useful to those who have not access to such books of reference as the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. There is no introduction, and no attempt is made to estimate the value of the book as a whole. The author seems to exaggerate the changes which the Flavian emperors introduced into the imperial cult (p. 31), and he is surely wrong in identifying the *acta Tiberii* with the *acta senatus* (p. 113). On the whole, however, the book is a good piece of work. G. H. STEVENSON.

'Ἀττικὸν Δίκαιον. Ἑρμηνευτικὰ καὶ διορθωτικὰ εἰς Ἰσαίων. By P. S. PHOTIADES. (Extracts from 'H Ἀθηνα.) Sakellarios, Athens, 1922-3.

THESE researches by Dr. Photiades, which deal with the first four speeches of Isaeus, will be welcome to students of the Attic orators. They are reprinted from *Athena*. The notes on the Pyrrhus and Nicostratus were written after the fire at Smyrna had destroyed the author's books and papers, containing the results of a great deal of work. Dr. Photiades will have the sympathy of all scholars, and it is greatly to be hoped that he will be able to reconstruct his notes on the remaining speeches. Besides introductions dealing with the problems of law and fact presented by the speeches, there are a considerable number of suggestions on the text all worthy of careful consideration, and recommended by the author's obvious mastery of the Isaeus' idiom. Perhaps the most interesting part of these papers is that in which Dr. Photiades deals with the very obscure topic of the precise relationships of the various claimants for the estate of Cleonymus, and then discusses the arguments advanced by the orator. He is inclined to attach value to Isaeus' reiterated suggestion that a will made in anger might be invalid under the Solonian disqualification for madness. Isaeus seems to him to be interpreting with greater freedom the language of the Solonian law. He deduces a further argument that the will is invalidated by the willingness of the beneficiaries under it to meet the rival claimants by birth in a compromise. Both contentions are ingenious and would have appealed to the orator, though if they possessed the legal force Dr. Photiades would give them, it is hard to see why Isaeus doesn't argue them more definitely as legal points. It is possible that the author is over-friendly to his favourite orator; at this time of day, it can hardly be a duty either of patriotism or Christian charity to shield Isaeus from the slings and arrows of Mr. Wyse. But it may be that English scholars are too much abashed by the monumental work which Mr. Wyse has planted on the orator's grave and too much dominated by his distrustful acumen. In any case these papers are a valuable contribution to the study of Attic law and pleading.

F. E. ADCOCK.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY REPORTS.

ON February 16, 1923, the Rev. G. C. Richards read a paper on 'Timachidas and the Chronicle of the Temple of Athena at Lindos,' (C. Blinkenberg, *La Chronique du Temple Lindien*, Copenhagen, 1912, and Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, No. 131, Bonn, 1915).

The date of the *stèle* is fixed by the mention of the priest Teisulos to 99 B.C., and the name Timachidas is probably to be derived from Τιμάχος, Τιμᾶχος, Τιμᾶχίδας dignitatis causa. This Timachidas, a young Rhodian of archaeological tastes, had already devoted much time to the study of the literary authorities, which

are largely quoted, but he had not had access to the 'letters and official minutes.' Accordingly his father, Hagesitimos, proposed and carried a decree in the local assembly, appointing him and a colleague, whose duties were obviously only nominal, to draw up an inscription, to have access to the archives in the presence of the secretary of the local senate (μαστοροί), and to receive a sum of 200 drachmae.

The 'letters' are attributed in the *stèle* to Gorgosthenes, who wrote to the Senate of the capital Rhodes (a copy presumably being sent

to Lindos), and to Hieroboulos, who wrote to the local senate of Lindos. Dr. Blinkenberg has conclusively proved that the destructive fire in the Temple of Athena which is mentioned in the inscription took place about 350 B.C., and that these two priests recorded the lost 'anathemata,' and doubtless gave the rein to their fancy in so doing. This fire would explain the liberality of Artaxerxes Ochus—no doubt inspired by his General, Mentor the Rhodian—who presented valuable jewellery to the state of Rhodes.

Out of these letters and the official minutes Timachidas found it easy to complete his work. He has been identified with great probability as the Rhodian of that name whose work *Δείπνα* is cited by Athenaeus. It was in eleven books of hexameter verse, and apparently dealt *inter alia* with fish, fruit, and flowers, as accessories to banquets. He is probably the same person who wrote a work on *Γλώσσαι*, and who produced commentaries on the *Medea*, the *Frogs*, the *Kôlaξ* of Menander, and the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes. He was accordingly a literary man of some distinction in the first century B.C., and it is attractive to suppose that his work on the Temple inventory was his *primitiae*. In the decree and the inventory there is no room for literary style, but appended to the decree are one complete and two fragmentary *Ἐπιφάνειαι* of the goddess. The latter are respectively about appearances of Athena in a dream, (a) to a priest about a suicide in the temple; (b) to an ex-priest during the siege of Rhodes by Demetrius Poliorketes, commanding an appeal for help to Ptolemy Soter (305 B.C.), as a souvenir of which Ptolemy made a great sacrifice, and dedicated twenty pairs of horns of the oxen.

A certain literary style, not that of the *Kouή*, may be seen in this narrative, placing him alongside of Ephorus, if not Xenophon, or at any rate with Polemon.

Beside the writers of the letters, twenty-one authorities are stated, most of them completely unknown chroniclers. Two, Hegesias and

Myron, are authors of panegyrics upon Rhodes; the former of these wrote also an *Ἀπικῆς ἐγκώμιον*, of which Strabo (p. 396) gives a fragment. Zeno, the Rhodian, who wrote a local history in fifteen books (Dio. Laert. VII. 33), is no doubt the correspondent of Polybius, and the author quoted in the *stèle*. Eudemus, the author of a *Λυνδιακὸς λόγος*, is perhaps the Peripatetic philosopher. But there is no doubt of the identity of Herodotus the Thurian, whose mention of Amasis' linen corslet at Lindos is quoted from II. 182, the word *ἀρπεδὼνη* being used as in III. 47; but whereas Herodotus says each *ἀρπεδὼνη* has 360 *ἀρπεδῶναι* in itself, the inscription says *στάμνες*. Dr. Blinkenberg thinks that, because Timachidas does not mention the two stone statues of Herodotus, he had only read the information of Herodotus as given by Polyzalos. With these exceptions the authorities cited seem to be writers of local history, and completely unknown. There is one curiosity. One Aielouros wrote on the 'war against the Exagiadae' or should we read 'the six sons of Helios' (ἐξ Ἀλιῶδας)? This may have been a pseudonym for a romance writer; or, considering the number of personal names taken from animals, for instance, *Σκύλαξ*, and many in Fick-Bechtel, *Gr. Personennamen*² pp. 314 ff., it may have been the name of a real person.

The additions to our historical knowledge derived from this *stèle* are perhaps not very important, but they are clear and unmistakable.

The items add considerably to our information about ancient *anathemata*; the material is sometimes of African lotus or cypress wood; the references to the archaic panel paintings, to the subjects represented ('Kronos receiving his children from Rhea and swallowing them' has not previously been found so early), to the technique (e.g., a wooden figure with head, hands, and feet of ivory), are highly interesting. Altogether we owe a debt to Timachidas, and still more to Dr. Blinkenberg, who has made him a living figure.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK) (1923.)

ARCHAEOLOGY. — Apr. 2. A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, vol. i. [London, Macmillan, 1921. Pp. xxiv+721] (T. L. Shear). 'A masterwork beyond serious criticism.' S. enumerates points where E. has worked in the results of his very latest discoveries.

HISTORY. — Apr. 30. A. E. R. Boak, *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.* [New York, Macmillan, 1921. Pp. xvi+444] (W. W. Hyde). Unlike Botsford's recent Greek history, the book lays little emphasis on the culture of the Romans; it is 'authoritative and sound, but dry and matter-of-fact.' H. discusses B.'s opinions on various points.

LITERATURE. — Apr. 23. R. J. Walker, *Euripidean Fragments* [London, Burns and Oates, 1920. Pp. 52] (C. W. Peppler). The emendations are clever, but unconvincing and sometimes impossible. — May 7. G. Showerman, *Horace and His Influence* [Boston, Marshall Jones, 1922. Pp. xviii+176] (J. W. Duff). An appreciation of the poet in his environment, and of his influence on the ages and to-day; 'it makes him live again.' J. W. Mackail, *Virgil and his Meaning to the World of To-day* [Boston, Marshall Jones, 1922. Pp. x+159] (N. W. de Witt). 'Calculated to make friends for the Classics and for Virgil.' — May 14. H. Peters, *Zur Einheit der Ilias* [Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1922. Pp. 139] (S. E. Bassett).

'Difficult reading for one who does not know Homer almost by heart.' A suggestive analysis of the poem, mapping out the lines of its construction; its interpretations are often probable, but it tends to make Homer a synthesis rather than living poetry.—May 21. J. T. Sheppard, *Pattern of the Iliad* [London, Methuen, 1922. Pp. xi+213] (S. E. Bassett). Highly praised, though certain inaccuracies are pointed out. J. A. Scott, *The Unity of Homer* [Berkeley, University of California Press, 1921. Pp. 275] (D. M. Robinson). A thorough-going 'Unitarian' treatise, which shows how far the pendulum has swung in the last twenty-five years. R. praises the style, and agrees with the main conclusions though criticising some arguments as 'special pleading.'

[The issue for May 14 contains a list of classical articles in non-classical periodicals.]

MUSÉE BELGE XXVII. No. 1., 1923.

J. Hubaux, *Le plongeon rituel*. Studies the Porta Maggiore underground basilica (pp. 81, 17 illustrations). The chief bas-relief shows, as Curtis suggested, Sappho's leap at Leucas (Ovid *Her.* xv. 161-84), but Ovid implies her cure, not 'suicide': no ancient evidence for her dying there. For source in ritual cp. Strabo 452, Ov. *Fast.* V. 639: 'plongeon rituel' to produce mystic death and rebirth. Sappho figures in relief as the Grande Initiée. Apse was used in first century of Empire by Baptae of Thracian goddess Cotyto (Hor. *Epod.* 17, ps.-Verg. *Epigr.* 13; Juv. II. 91). Her assimilation to Cybele explains some of the other reliefs. E. Merchie, *Notes sur le style de Sidoine Apollinaire*. A. Roersch, *Docts. inédits concernant Liévin Algoet*.

MUSÉE BELGE: BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE.

(JAN., 1923.)

AUTHORS: GREEK — Homer: J. A. Scott, *Unity of Homer*. An alluring thesis passing too lightly over the difficulties (Delatte). Eug. Petersen, *Homer's Zorn des Achilleus und der Homeriden Ilias* (Berl. and Leipz., de Gruyter, 1920). Unfavourable (Delatte). Isaacus: P. Roussel, *Isée: Discours. Texte établi et traduit* (Coll. des Univs. de France. Paris. Soc. d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres' 1922, 16 fr.). Favourable (Delatte).—Callimachus: E. Cahen, *Callimaque. Texte établi et traduit* (same publ. 1922, 13 fr.) Text conservative, translation excellent (Delatte). P. Pfeiffer, *Callimachi fragmenta nuper reperta* (Kleine Texte, Lietzmann, Bonn. Marcus u. Weber 1921). Favourable (Delatte).

LATIN: Virgil: E. Galletier (*P. Vergili M. Epigrammata et Priapea* (Hachette, 1920, 10 fr.). Text conservative, and accepts only four as genuine [Ribbeck 5, 7, 8, 10]. On whole praised by Hubaux. A. Guillemin, *Quelques injustices de la critique interne à l'égard de Virgile*. (Thèse. Châlon-sur-Saône, Bertrand, 1921.) A criticism of Norden's method in his work on *Aen.* VI. Praised

by Jeanne Hubaux.—Ovid: R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung*. Teubner, 1919 (publ. 1920). Sound method and original conclusions (Delatte).

GENERAL: A. Cartault, *La Poésie latine* (Collection Payot, Paris, 1922, 4 fr.). A neat summary. (P. Faider, who emphasises the originality of Latin poetry). *Vaison et ses antiquités romaines*, described by P. Faider.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(JANUARY-APRIL, 1923.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Pindaros* [Berlin, 1922, Weidmann. Pp. 528] (Schroeder). Poems dealt with chronologically after brilliant description of the setting; chief attention directed to personal and literary questions. W. is like a great winnowing-fan separating grain from chaff.—R. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien* [München, 1922, Hueber. Pp. 124] (Sitzler). Necessary supplement to P.'s edition of the new fragments of Callimachus, giving reasons for his interpretations of single passages and whole papyri. Convincing.—E. Drerup, *Homerische Poetik. I. Band: Das Homerproblem von E. Drerup. II. Band: Die Rhapsodien der Odyssee von F. Stürmer* [Würzburg, 1921, Selbstverlag des Herausgebers. Pp. xvi+512 and xii+632] (Sitzler). Vol. I.: The most significant work hitherto produced by supporters of the unity of Homer. Vol. III.: After detailed analysis of the poetry and construction of Odysseus S. concludes that it is the uniform work of a great creative poet. Reviewer disagrees in details, but agrees with main conclusions.—P. Viereck, *Ostraka aus Brüssel und Berlin* [Berlin, 1922, de Gruyter. Pp. 177] (Bilabel). Ninety-nine texts edited with V.'s usual carefulness.—E. Bethe, *Homer, Dichtung und Sage. II. Band: Odyssee, Kyklos, Zeitbestimmung nebst den Resten des Troischen Kyklos und einem Beitrage von F. Studniczka* [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner. Pp. xv+392] (Dahms). Reviewer largely disagrees, but emphasises the value of B.'s work in Homeric research; the middle section on the Epic Cycle is of special importance and very learned.—T. Zielinski, *Tragodumena. Untersuchungen über die Entwicklung tragischer Motive. Heft I.: Danae und Iphigenie in der tragischen Mythopoeie* [Petrograd, 1919. Pp. 56] (Sonny). Written (in Russian) with fine poetic understanding and complete mastery of material; a landmark in the study of ancient tragic art. Reviewer summarises at some length.

LATIN LITERATURE.—M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia. Fasc. 42. *Academicorum reliquiae cum Lucullo*. Recognovit O. Plasberg [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner. Pp. xxviii+126] (Philippson). Similar to P.'s small critical edition of the *De Natura Deorum*; time and method of composition, relationship and value of MSS. established in introduction; readable text, emendations show thorough knowledge of Cicero's language; full indices.—*Octavia praetexta cum elementis commentarii*. Edidit C. Hosius [Bonn, 1922, Marcus u. Weber. Pp. 72]

- (Rosbach). One of Lietzmann's series of 'Kleine Texte,' and similar to H.'s edition of Vergil's *Eclogues*; very careful collection of explanatory references, models, and imitations, mostly printed in full under the text. Reviewer adds many variant readings.
- HISTORY.**—J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* [Heidelberg, 1921, Winter. Pp. viii+202] (Heer). Successfully reconstructs from the fragmentary tradition together with coins and inscriptions the outward course of events.
- PHILOSOPHY.**—A. Delatte, *Essai sur la politique pythagoricienne* [Liège, 1922, Biblioth. de la faculté de philos. et lettres de l'univ. de Liège. Pp. xi+295] (Immsch). D.'s examination of Pythagorean writings on political theory is a noteworthy achievement in this neglected field.
- LANGUAGE.**—F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch, enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nicht-semitischen Menschen-namen soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden Ägyptens sich vorfinden* [Heidelberg, 1922, Selbstverlag des Herausgebers. 526 columns] (Kiessling). Contains some 17,000 personal names, about 8,000 of which are Greek; indispensable to papyrologists, and very valuable to philologists in general.—Alice F. Bräunlich, *The Indicative Indirect Question in Latin* [Diss. Chicago, 1920. Pp. 211] (Baehrens). Diligent and judicious collection of material leading to valuable results; superficial in arrangement.—J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Griechisch, Lateinisch, und Deutsch* [Basel, 1920, Birkhäuser. Pp. ii+319] (Reiter). Deals mainly with syntax of the verb; very valuable and most arresting; many grammatical notes on classical authors.
- ARCHAEOLOGY.**—E. Hofmann, *Bilder aus Carnuntum* [Wien, 1921, Pichler. Pp. 85; fourteen illustrations and two sketch-plans] (Wolff). Stimulating and on the whole reliable popular guide to site and museum remains of 'the Austrian Pompeii.'
- EPIGRAPHY AND PALAEOGRAPHY.**—S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie, T. I.* [Paris, 1922. Pp. 458] (Dessau). This first volume combines the Algerian inscriptions already recorded in *C.I.L.* VIII. and its Supplements with those more recently discovered; almost all have been read or re-read by G., whose accuracy has stood every test applied by reviewer. General arrangement, method of printing, and indices closely modelled on *C.I.L.*—J. Stroux, *Handschriftliche Studien zu Cicero, De Oratore. Die Rekonstruktion der Handschrift von Lodi* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. Pp. 182] (Philippson). Convincing throughout. Reviewer looks forward with confidence to S.'s edition of the *De Oratore*.
- METRIC.**—F. Novotný, *Eurhythmie der griechischen und lateinischen Prosa* [Prague, 1918/21, Abhandlungen d. böhm. Akad., III. Klasse, Nos. 47 and 50. Pp. 304] (Svoboda). Contains a number of new and stimulating ideas. Written in Czech.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Atkins** (H. G.) *A History of German Versification. Ten Centuries of Metrical Evolution.* Pp. xvi + 282. London: Methuen, 1923. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Bolkestein** (H.) 'Fabrieken' en 'Fabrikan-ten' in Griekenland. (Overdruk uit Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, afl. 1, 1923). Pp. 32. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1923. Paper.
- Boulenger** (F.) *Essai critique sur la syntaxe de l'empereur Julien. Remarques critiques sur le texte de l'empereur Julien. (Mémoires et Travaux des Facultés Catholiques de Lille, Fascicules XXII., XXIII.)* Pp. xxii+266, x+75. Facultés Catholiques de Lille, 1922. Paper, 25 fr. and 8 fr.
- Burnet** (J.) *Ignorance. (The Romanes Lecture, 1923.)* Pp. 20. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Paper, 2s. net.
- Classical Philology.* Vol. XVIII., No. 2. April, 1923.
- Colbert** (Sister M. C.) *The Syntax of the De Ciuitate Dei of St. Augustine.* Pp. x+107. (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. IV.) Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1923. Paper.
- Crump** (L. M.) *The Marriage of Nausicaa, and other poems.* Pp. 35. Oxford: Blackwell, 1923. Boards, 5s. net.
- De Falco** (V.) *L'Epicureo Demetrio Lacone.* (Biblioteca di Filologia Classica, Vol. II.) Pp. 111. Naples: A. Cimmaruta, 1923. Paper, 20 lire.
- Deissmann** (A.) *Licht vom Osten: vierte völlig neubearbeitete Auflage.* 83 Abb. Pp. xvii+447. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1923. Paper.
- De Witt** (N. W.) *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria.* Pp. vii+192. Toronto: Victoria College Press (London: Milford), 1923. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Diehl** (E.) *Anthologia Lyrica, edidit E.D. I. Poetae elegiaci. II. Theognis, Carmen Aureum, Phocylidea.* Pp. vi+115, ii+93. Leipzig: Teubner. Paper, 1.52s. each.
- Duff** (J. D.) *T. Lucreti Cari de Rerum Natura Liber Primus.* Edited with introduction, notes, and index by J. D. D. Pp. xxvi+136. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 4s.

- Eupolis* (Jr.) Carneades on 'Injustice,' an amoral story with the famous lost lecture of 155 B.C. Pp. 47. Printed privately by the Invicta Press, Ashford, Kent, 1923. Paper.
- Exler* (F. X. J.) The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter. A Study in Greek Epistolography. Pp. 141. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1923. Paper.
- Fotheringham* (J. K.) Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones, latine uertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus, edidit I. K. F. Pp. xxxix+352. London: Milford, 1923. Cloth, 48s. net.
- Fowler* (H. N.) A History of Ancient Greek Literature. New and revised edition. Pp. x+503. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. Cloth, \$3.
- Fowler* (H. N.) A History of Roman Literature. Pp. ix+315. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923. Cloth, 14s. net.
- Ghedini* (G.) Lettere Cristiane dai Papiri Greci del III. e IV. Secolo. Pp. xxviii+376. Milan: presso l'amministrazione di 'Aegyptus,' 1923. Paper.
- Goetz* (G.) Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, Vol. I. De Glossariis Latinorum Origine et Fatis. Pp. vii+431. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923. Paper, 22s.
- Grose* (S. W.) Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins. Vol. I.: Western Europe, Magna Graecia, Sicily. Pp. xii+380, 111 plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 84s. net.
- Halliday* (W. R.) The Growth of the City State: Lectures on Greek and Roman History. First Series. Pp. 264. Liverpool: University Press, 1923. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Henderson* (B. W.) The life and principate of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 76-138. Pp. xi+304. London: Methuen, 1923. Cloth, 15s. net.
- Holmes* (T. R.) The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire. Three vols. Pp. xvi+486, xvi+337, xix+620. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth, 63s. net.
- Hopfner* (T.) Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, Pars II. auctores ab Horatio usque ad Plutarchum continens. Pp. 125. Bonn: Marcus und Weber, 1923. Paper, 4.80 Swiss francs.
- Italie* (G.) Euripidis Hypsipyla, cum notis criticis et exegeticis edidit G. I. Pp. xii+80. Berlin: Ebering, 1923. Paper.
- Lang* (Andrew). The Poetical Works of A. L., edited by Mrs. Lang in four volumes. Pp. xvi+249, xi+262, viii+227, vi+231. London: Longmans, 1923. Cloth, 42s. net.
- Livingstone* (R. W.) The Pageant of Greece, edited by R. W. L. Pp. xii+436. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth, 6s. 6d. net.
- Lundström* (V.) Tacitus' Poetiska Källor. Pp. 24. Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri, 1923. Paper.
- Mackail* (J. W.) The Alliance of Latin and English Studies. Pp. 19. London: Murray, 1923. Paper, 1s. net.
- Mattingly* (H.) Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Vol. I.: Augustus to Vitellius. With an introduction and 64 plates. Pp. ccxxxi+464. London: British Museum and elsewhere, 1923.
- Marouseau* (J.) L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine. I.: Les groupes nominaux. (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, XII.). Pp. xvi+236. Paris: E. Champion, 1922. Paper.
- Marx* (F.) M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia. Fasc. 1: Incerti auctoris De Ratione Dicendi ad C. Herennium lib. IV., iterum recensuit F. M. Pp. xxiv+195. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923. Paper, 3s.
- Merrill* (E. T.) Catulli Veronensis liber, recensuit E. T. M. Pp. viii+92. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923. Paper, 1.28s.
- Μουσείον, Rivista di Antichità.* Anno I., Fascicolo II. Naples: Rondinella e Loffredo, 1923.
- Murray* (G.) The Choëphoroe (Libation-bearers) of Aeschylus translated into English rhyming verse. Pp. 83. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1923. Cloth, 3s. net.; paper 2s. net.
- Parsons* (Sister W.) A Study of the Vocabulary and Rhetoric of the Letters of Saint Augustine. Pp. vii+281. (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. III.). Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1923. Paper.
- Poulsen* (F.) Travels and Sketches, translated from the Danish. Pp. 235. London: Chatto and Windus, 1923. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Reed* (M.) Julia. A Latin Reading Book. Pp. ix+98. London: Macmillan, 1923. Cloth, 2s. net.
- Rogers* (B. B.) The Ecclesiazusae of Aristophanes, translated by B. B. R. Pp. 85. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1923. Paper, 2s. net.
- Rogers* (H. L.) and *Harley* (T. R.) Roman Home Life and Religion: A Reader. Pp. xiii+243. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth.
- Sikes* (E. E.) Roman Poetry. Pp. vii+280. London: Methuen, 1923. 8s. 6d. net.
- Sloman* (H. N. P.) Caesar: Books I. and II. of the Civil War, partly in the original and partly in F. P. Long's translation, edited by H. N. P. S. Pp. 142. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Stebbing* (W.) Greek and Latin Anthology thought into English verse. Part I.: Greek masterpieces. Part II.: Latin masterpieces. Part. III. Greek epigrams and Sappho. Pp. xii+300, x+304, xvi+199. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1923. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net. each.
- St. John* (C.) The Plays of Roswitha, translated by C. St. J., with an introduction by Cardinal Gasquet and a critical preface. (Vol. XVII. of the Medieval Library.) Pp. xxxvi+160. London: Chatto and Windus, 1923. Boards, 5s. net.
- Sundwall* (J.) Zur Deutung kretischer Tontäfelchen II. (Acta Academiae Aboensis Humaniora IV.) Pp. 11. Åbo Akademi, Åbo, 1923. Paper.
- The American Journal of Philology.* Vol. XLIV. No. 2. Whole No. 174. April, May, June, 1923.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1923

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THE Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching held its annual Summer School in August (2 to 15) at Downe House, near Newbury. Dr. Rouse gave a very interesting course of demonstration lessons with boys from Newbury Grammar School who knew no Latin or French. Latin reading and conversation classes were diligently attended; there was even a small informal Greek reading circle. Mr. R. G. Collingwood gave an interesting lecture on Roman inscriptions in Britain, showing beautifully drawn copies. Professor Ure and the Headmaster of Newbury Grammar School lectured on the place of Greek in modern schools, the former urging the importance of even one year's Greek for students going to the newer universities. In the open-air theatre some scenes were given from Latin and Greek plays, as well as the topical Latin plays which are an annual feature of the School. A full report of the School will be printed in *Latin Teaching* for November. The President of the Association for 1923-24 is Mr. L. R. Strangeways, Headmaster of Bury Grammar School (Lancs.); the Hon. Secretary is Miss M. F. Moor, 45, High Street, Old Headington, Oxford, from whom further information may be obtained. The A.R.L.T. will be holding a meeting in London on January 9, 1924, and will discuss 'Problems in Latin Teaching: some Modern Solutions.'

A correspondent writes :

A performance of the *Birds* of Aristophanes in Greek was given at King's College, London, at the end of last June. Dr. Clara Knight, Reader in Classics at the College, was the prime mover and chief author (under Aristophanes) of the performance, and Professor Ernest Gardner, with Mrs. and Miss Gardner, were generous and indefatigable collaborators in the arrangement of all the scenery, setting, and costumes of the play. No one who saw the

play can fail to remember—and to remember as triumphs of art and archaeology—the costumes which they designed (and not only designed, but also executed) for hoopoe, flamingo, and every manner of bird, each according to its kind. And the scene before which the birds flapped their wings and said their parts and sang their songs, with its picture of the heavenly city in the clouds, is no less of a happy memory.

The burden of the play fell largely upon Mr. M. L. W. Laistner, who played the part of Peisthetairos as one to the manner born, with the gravity of profound conviction and the energy of a quick enthusiasm. He dominated the stage and controlled the action. His colleague, Mr. Pocock (of University College), in the part of Euelpides, caught the same vein and showed the same verve, *et respondere paratus*. Mr. Jacob, unforgettable in the part of the hoopoe, was a bird of shy dignity, with a modest droop of the eyes, pontifically serious when the action was *au grand sérieux*, but twinkling into humour when the chance came his way. The adventurers who came to offer their aid in the building of Nephelococcygia were all convincing adventurers. Mr. Randolph Hughes, with an Athenian versatility, played the part both of oracle-monger and of sycophant, with so clear a distinction between his two parts, alike in action and in voice, that only those who knew in advance that the same man was playing both could possibly have distinguished the sycophant from the oracle-monger. And as for the Chorus—well, one can only say, as one reflects on their twitterings (*τιὸ τιὸ τιὸ τίξ*) and their excitements and the wheeling of their evolutions, *ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμῶς—you take the cake*. Mr. Raeburn was an admirable leader. Parry's music set a key to which everything attuned itself naturally; and if the ear had its delight in clear enunciation and good music, the eye had also its delight in the costumes and the movements of the birds.

Many rehearsals had gone to the success of the play; and the conductor, Mr. Arthur Cowen, had laboured with a loyalty that commanded success upon the music. But there is a something in the performance of a Greek play which generally blesses performers and audience alike. Is it that both feel themselves initiates in a mystery which is hidden from the ununderstanding mass? Or is it that the players can fling themselves into Greek parts, just because they are in Greek, with a high magnificence which would desert them if they were speaking in the common English tongue? *Vix solvenda quaestio*; but at any rate one may say of all the performers, in the final words of the play itself, *τῆρελλα καλλίνικοι*.

ON TRANSLATING GREEK TRAGEDY.

THEORETICALLY the true aim of translation is to transport us back to the poet, not to bring him closer to ourselves; it is we and not the poet or his work, already finished *hors concours*, that must undergo an essential change. And the aim so defined necessarily determines the method; in other words, the language of translation must, according to this theory, be used with the single purpose of creating the illusion of Greek tragic art come to life. Hence there must be no appeal to the national memory in which the poetry of the race is stored; the measures employed must be reminiscent only of the Greek. And in the result it is hoped to give a new *genre* to English literature, and to create the taste by which it shall be enjoyed.

The aim is high and proportionately difficult of accomplishment. Do we know the true effect of the iambic line or of the choric metres on a Greek ear? If we do, can we even approximately reproduce it? Clearly not; for we have nothing like the same richness in vowels, polysyllables and compound words. There is not one phrase or lyrical period where every detail can be re-arranged with the same incidence and made to preserve the same value. The structure of the two languages is fatal to the attempt.

But there is a further consideration. Every language consists of sounds capable of being organised into song, but song cannot be the same in any two languages, because the parts of which each is composed differ and cannot produce any harmony inconsistent with themselves.

Milton, of course, banned rhyme, or, as he correctly spelt it, 'rime,' as 'a fault avoided by the learned ancients,' and it may well be argued that in any attempt to render the classic modes into English the 'invention of a barbarous age' is especially out of place. But it remains true of the English lyric, as it is true of all French poetry, that 'la Rime est le moyen suprême d'expression, et l'imagination de la Rime le maître outil.' Furthermore, rhyme determines metre.

Therefore the unrhymed movements

of a Greek chorus, however felicitously imitated in English, are organised according to a technique appropriate to the one language but inconsistent with the metrical laws of the other, and the very elements of harmony are decomposed. To find a parallel to this method you must imagine an English lyric rendered into Greek in the same measure and with the same arrangement of rhymes. If that could be done we should have an example of the truth that in translation the more closely two things are forced into a formal and reluctant propinquity the more apparent becomes the distance that divides them. Sensuously you cannot hope to compete with the rich effects of Greek poetry if you throw away the indigenous wealth of your own; psychically the trammels of strange rhythm will fetter the imagination, with results on the reader as far as possible removed from the free play of emotion roused by the *ipsissima verba* in the Greek theatre. There will be no illusion, but rather the sense of a living language stretched on the rack, and in the torturing process not only the life of the drama but the soul of all poetry will be seen struggling *in extremis*.

This is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the too rigorous premiss from which we started; namely that the translator must carry us back to the Greek, and of the method that theory logically compels him to adopt. Still, it represents a real danger, never quite separable from this high and difficult aim.

Now let us look at the excluded alternative—bringing the poet nearer to ourselves. Its appropriate method is the free style associated with many great names that have lent their lustre to translation, from Chaucer to Shelley. Nevertheless it has its characteristic vice; a latitude of adaptation in which the original passes out of recognition; it is not therefore brought nearer to us; there can be no illusion, for none is attempted.

It appears, then, that there is no safety in extremes; and we must look for a compromise. That is to say, we must sometimes sacrifice the Greek to the English and sometimes the English

to the Greek: steering a more or less irregular and devious course between the two. But in practice it will be found that every translator, as there is more or less of the poet in him, leans inevitably, instinctively and consistently either to the one or to the other.

But there is something more to be said. It is of no great importance whether we deny the name of poet to a translator or not; but it will be conceded that the translation of a poem must have the characteristics of poetry; and we may draw from this what inference we please. Now the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* of a poem or of a line of poetry are a certain state of mind; and in proportion as this is or is not identical in poet and reader the work in its kind succeeds or fails. The translator, if it be possible, must feel as the poet felt and rouse the same feelings in those who read his translation. This too is a sufficiently difficult aim.

There is probably not one Greek word that you can match, hue for hue and weight for weight, in English; for language is not a crystallised thing, but a living, sensitive organism, animated by the spirit of the race and of the individual man, adapted to their characteristic purposes, changing as they change, saturated with history. No mind can make itself an absolutely transparent medium through which the mind of another shall be discerned; the authentic word that clothes thought necessarily veils it. So that between the personality of the tragedian and a page of translation there is interposed, besides twenty centuries of revolution and change, the language of the poet and its metrical laws; next, the mind of the translator; and finally the new vehicle of expression with its appropriate principles of harmony. It is obvious that in the process of transference so volatile an essence as poetry is apt to escape or undergo chemical change. And yet the psychological effect must be produced by this or that bias natural to the genius of the translator, and wherever niceties of resemblance stand in the way they must be sacrificed to the supreme end. It must be said of the translator, as it is said of the inspired teacher, that the mind of the

master dwells in him; that he has received the word, but not *δέκην ἀγγέλου*; he is not the mere pool that reflects a star; its splendour penetrates him, and is regendered, with a lesser glow, but in the heat of his soul.

The translator, then, whatever his method may be, is a revivalist; and, strictly speaking, nothing can be made to live its life over again. We cannot, for example, revive village life because the spirit that animated it is dead, and the attempt has a spectral quality, falsely related to the world of to-day. But it is not so with Greek art and Greek life. We are attracted to the Greeks because of their conspicuous power over the fluctuant and unstable elements of existence. It is this that gives their art its triumphant beauty, as if the creative forces had there and then done their best for the world; as perhaps there is in an orchard but one richest plot where grows the stateliest tree, one incomparable fruit, one perfect hour in the ripening year. It is this, exhibited in the great Greek examples of hard, honest thinking and right living, which gives an imperishable value to their philosophy of life. We see with increasing clearness that their past has by no means exhausted its virtue, and that many of the vices, literary and other, of our time come under the condemnation of their saner code; and in the general *malaise*, proceeding from an inveterate unsoundness, from many false steps and misunderstandings of what makes for happiness, we turn away from an environment, to which the soul strives to adapt itself with increasing difficulty, back towards a world where, illusively or not, the spirit of man seems to have made itself more at home; where, at least, the dust has settled and the atmosphere become clear. If there be now a classical renaissance, a new curiosity about that old civilisation, it is nothing that we call academic; it is part of the movement of our world. The translator reflects that movement; he responds to the stimulus of that curious unrest, that unsatisfied desire for calm, and gives it concrete expression. He is moved by the *πόθος τῶν τότε*; he has seen the *ὁμοίωμα τῶν ἐκεῖ*

and is filled with amazement; and if the divine madness be not his he incurs the *μανίας δόξα* by offering his translation as a sacrifice to the beloved.

Herein lies his spiritual, and, by implication, his artistic significance and his justification. If there can be no substitute for the Greek, neither can

there be any substitute for translation, and the method of it must be determined by the largest interpretation of its aim. For it is not too much to say that the work of the translator will only have attained its full scope when its influence is felt and seen in modern life and modern poetry.

G. M. COOKSON.

SOME NOTES ON THE GREAT BACCHYLIDES PAPYRUS.¹

THE devoted labours of Kenyon and Blass in restoring this MS. have left little for others to do except to check their results. Still, when in the summer of 1921 I made a careful examination of the whole papyrus, besides some minor defects in the mounting²—an art not so well understood in 1897 as it is to-day—I found that a few small pieces had been wrongly placed, and others, which really belong to extant fragments, incorrectly ascribed to lost columns. The new identifications are partly due to the expert skill of Mr. C. Lamacraft; all have been made in agreement with Mr. H. I. Bell.

Fr. 29 (Kenyon), which contains the word *ἔκατι*, belongs not, as Süss thinks,³ to a column lost between cols. 21 and 23, but to the end of the first line of col. 13 (*Ode* VII. l. 4); and fr. 33, *ὑβρ*[, placed doubtfully by Süss with fr. 7, follows *ἄρ*[(sic lege), near the beginning of the same line. I would suggest the following restoration of ll. 1-7 of this ode:⁴

ᾠ λιπαρὰ θύγατερ Χρόνου τε κ[αὶ]
 Νυκτός, σὲ πεντήκοντα μ[ῆνες, Ἀμέρα,]
 ἑκκαίδεκάταν ἐν Ὀλυμπ[ίᾳ κελεύου-]
 [σιν] βαρυβρ[όμοιο Ζηνός] ἔκατι
 5 [ἐ]ντὸς αἶμα[σιᾶς κλευνᾶς]
 κρίνειν τα[χυντᾶ <τά> τε] λαιψηρῶν
 ποδῶν
 [Ε]ἴλασι καὶ γυ[ίων ἀ]ρισταλκῆς
 σθένος.⁵

‘Thou radiant Daughter of Time and Night, fifty months command thee,

¹ British Museum Pap. 733.

² E.g. the obscuring of letter-traces through the turning back of tiny portions of the surface; these and other small blemishes have now (1922) been removed.

³ *Bacchylidis Carmina*, Teubner, 1912.

⁴ L. 6 is due to Platt; l. 7 to Kenyon.

⁵ Of the Altis.

Day that art sixteenth at Olympia, by favour of deep-rumbling Zeus to judge for Greece within a far-famed wall⁶ both speed of nimble foot and eminent might of limb.’

Fr. 35, *προξεν*[, placed by Blass at the end of the first line of col. 15 (= VIII. 20), really belongs above *σιώταν* in col. 16 (= VIII. 76), a passage where I suggest, *exempli gratia*, the following restoration:

75 [νῦν δὲ καὶ κλε]νὰν βροτο[ῖς]
 [ἵνα τεῶν με]λέων
 [εὐαγορεῦντα] πρόξεν[ον,]
 [Αὐτόμηδες, να]σιώταν
 [ἦκ’ ἀερσιφθογγο]ν ὕμνον,
 [ὅς κτλ.⁶

‘And now also, to champion in fair speech the strength of thy limbs, Automedes, have I sent a voice-rousing island hymn which,’ etc. For the rhythm of l. 77 cf. l. 25, with which it corresponds.

Fr. 30, *ισ*[, which Süss proposes to assign to a column lost between cols. 21 and 23, belongs to the word *ἔργοις* in col. 28 (= XII. 203).

A fragment containing *μ* and, four lines below it, *ν*[, which I do not find recorded by Kenyon⁷, belongs to the end of ll. 1 and 5 of *Ode* XIII. (= col. 29).

Another apparently unrecorded fragment,⁷ *μκο*[, and below it *μκου*[, belongs to XIII. 22-3.

⁶ All left-hand and medial supplements are checked by the tracing of letter-groups. The last syllable of *ταχυντᾶ* (VII. 6) must have been lost by haplography. VIII. 77 suggested by Blass.

⁷ One of these is perhaps the third of the three added fragments mentioned by Blass ap. Süss, p. v; for the first and second see Kenyon, p. xvi.

The following fragments seem to have been placed wrongly in the current texts, but their true position has yet to be found :—

Fr. 14, which is to be read]λμο[or]αμο[, and under it]ανθι[, and under that]λινει[or]λινσι[or]λιννοι[, can hardly precede fr. 6, l. 4¹ (= *Óde* I. l. 7, Blass and Süss; p. 437. l. 7, Jebb). Blass was apparently misled by the appropriateness of γαίας Ἰσθμίας | [ὀφθα]λμόν into making the traces below]λμο[into the αμ of γαμβρόν. But Mr. Bell agrees that this is an

impossible reading of them. The condition of the papyrus in the two fragments does not support the junction. And it is just worth noting that, given the junction, I find it impossible to make any sense of λιννοι, λινει, or λινσι in the next line, however the passage be restored.

Fr. 9,]κτιος κεαρ[, to judge by the condition of the papyrus, can hardly be part of XIV. 23.²

J. M. EDMONDS.

Cambridge.

¹ Now mounted as col. A.

² For other new readings I may refer the reader to *Lyra Graeca*, vol. iii.

THE RELIGION OF LUCRETIIUS.

PROBABLY no system of thought offers stronger inconsistencies and contradictions than does Epicureanism, and nowhere are the difficulties greater than in its so-called 'theology.'

Mr. Cyril Bailey, known as a scholar of broad and vigorous type, read before the Classical Association in January, 1922, a very interesting paper on 'The Religion of Lucretius.' He has made an independent attempt to grasp that most difficult subject.

I. He commences by discussing the ingenious theory of the constitution of the Epicurean gods as developed by Scott and Giussani, which he thinks 'the most probable solution' of the problem. I can only say in passing that this curious theory is rejected by most scholars as conflicting with Epicurean science, while such authorities as Munro and Eduard Zeller do not name it. Philippson, in his long and able article 'On the Epicurean Doctrine of the Gods,'¹ expressly rejects it. Professor H. Diels says: 'The Lachelier-Scott conception of the corporeal substance of the Gods is not merely improbable but impossible.'²

Both the writers just quoted tend to lay too much stress on the evidence of Philodemus. His treatise 'On the Gods' (formerly entitled 'On Piety')

has come down to us in so mutilated a form that even the learning and acuteness of Diels cannot now construct out of its fragments a reliable text. Philippson's paper is the fruit of close study and much ingenuity, but his very careful interpretation of Epicurean terms must be received with caution. In the puzzling phrase φανταστικά ἐπιβολαὶ τῆς διανοίας, is he right to interpret διάνοια as 'imagination?' Plato (*Rep.* 511 D) defines it as 'the habit of mind which is concerned with mathematics and such sciences,' and contrasts it with νοῦς. All through the *Nicomachean Ethics* διάνοια has the meaning 'intellect.' Does Epicurus hold that imagination is required in order to produce from the mind-images of the gods a perception of the Divine? Surely not. Perhaps Wallace comes nearest to the actual meaning when he says, 'The mind leaps out to meet the sensation and turns it into an intelligent perception.'³ In Epicurus's letter to Herodotus at the beginning and close of § 49, we have ὁρᾶν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι and τὴν ὄψιν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, which Gabriel Cobet renders *intueri atque cogitare* and *in aciem aut mentem*. Here the evident meaning is 'perceive' and 'perception.'

Some Epicurean added to his master's three criteria of truth and reality a fourth, namely the φανταστικά ἐπι-

¹ In *Hermes*, vol. 51, for 1916, p. 604.

² In his edition of Philodemus 'On the Gods' (*Transactions of the Berlin Royal Academy* for 1915 and 1916. See the latter, vol. 6, p. 29).

³ *Epicureanism*, p. 224.

βολαὶ τῆς διανοίας, Diog. Laert. X. 31 (Epicurus himself uses the phrase, slightly otherwise worded, at X. 50). No one has yet explained the *exact* technical meaning of φανταστικά here. No writer is more lucid and perspicuous than Lucretius, but in this case his *animi iactus liber* at II. 1047 (rendered by Munro, 'the mind's immission [?] reaches in free and unembarrassed flight'), followed by Cicero, *se iniciens animus et intendens* (*De N. Deorum*, i. 54), seems a vague paraphrase of the Epicurean phrase. Wallace refers it, it would seem justly, to the Divine mind-images. 'Epicurus,' he says, 'recognises this avenue of ideas solely on account of its theological bearing' (*Epicureanism*, pp. 224-6). Mr. Bailey states the aim of this doctrine very forcibly. In order to explain the efficacy of the Divine *idola*, Epicurus, he says, 'invented a special capacity of the mind (ἐπιβολὴ τῆς διανοίας) almost for the sole purpose of immediately apprehending the images of the Divine beings.'

Philippson has rightly emphasised the sharp distinction drawn by Epicurus between the fact of our perception by the senses, and that of mental perception, while at the same time Epicurus assumes the method of the two processes to be identical. Before we can see, a continuous stream of images flowing towards the eye from the object is required. Mental perception, on the other hand, is produced 'by a single image with a single stroke':

facile uno commovet ictu
quaelibet una animum nobis subtilis
imago (IV. 746-7).

It requires to be clearly understood that Epicurus supposes 'mental perception,' that is vision by the mind, to occur only in the case of the Divine images and of those other (sometimes compound) images which are seen in dreams or in mental ailment. The belief in apparitions of the dead or of persons at a distance was a stumbling-block to the Epicurean, which had to be accounted for in some way. Lucretius refers twice to such phantoms in connection with this subject (at I. 132-4, IV. 37-9).

It would be interesting to know if Philodemus or any other ancient writer on Epicureanism refers to mental perception as produced by a single image; the passage cited by Philippson from Diog. Laert. X. 48 gives no evidence whatever for such a conclusion.

After elaborating his distinction between mind-vision and sense-vision, Lucretius sets it completely at naught by basing his explanation of dreaming on the assumption that material objects can throw off both mind-images and sense-images, as when we dream of battles, feasts, processions, and so on. In his bit of special pleading (IV. 722-748), Lucretius explains that the image of the Centaur seen in sleep is produced by ordinary images of a horse and a man meeting in the air and adhering to each other. But he has just said that such images, thrown off from material objects, are too heavy to affect the mind, which requires images that are far thinner in texture than those which cause sight, 'since,' he adds, 'the latter enter in through the porous parts of the body and stir up the fine nature of the mind within and provoke perception.' But if the nature of the gods is so fine that their images 'can with difficulty be discerned by the thought of the mind' (V. 148-9), how can the gross ones sent off by a horse and a man be mentally perceived? Manifestly Lucretius contradicts himself here. (Those images which accompany every process of thinking are assumed by Epicurus to be called up within the mind by memory.)

II. From Epicurus's 'theology' Mr. Bailey passes on to his religion as it takes shape in Lucretius's poem. He quotes vi. 68-78, where Lucretius tells how, if men believe that the gods can be angry with them and have power to do them harm, they lose the peace of soul which comes from receiving the Divine images in tranquillity. 'This is a thought,' he adds, 'which might almost come from some Christian mystic.' 'With our mortal eye on them we may so model our own conduct that we too may attain to perfect peace of mind. . . . The gods, then, are our example, and the true *pietas* is to imitate them and to contemplate all things with a mind at rest.'

Thus the gods, 'who live themselves in perfect tranquillity, can instil their own peace by means of their images into the soul of man, prepared by its own freedom from trouble to receive them. *This is at least a very deeply religious conception, and who shall say that this "atheist" has not penetrated to a truer notion of what religion might be than the orthodox belief in petition and answer?*'

Mr. Bailey speaks of the 'nobility of the conception of the Epicurean gods' existence.' One asks, What kind of deities are these whose influence can so ennoble man? They do nothing, they help none, they love none, they do not know what goes on upon earth, and yet they are perfectly happy, ever saying to themselves, *Mihi pulchre est!* What influence of good could come from the contemplation of such deities as these? The 'peace' which they could instil does not deserve the name. Such deities could have no religious value, no power over the heart and conscience of man.

In the course of a very judicious and appreciative notice of Dr. Warde Fowler's great book on Roman Religion (*Class. Rev.* for 1911), Mr. Bailey says that that scholar 'has hardly allowed enough for the really religious conception of the gods as the realised ideal of Epicurean morality.' This is not even just to Epicurus. There is in his ethic a very high tone of morality: he calls for a profound helpfulness to others, a helpfulness which is itself a necessity for the happiness of the helper, and for severe temperance and self-denial, qualities which put to shame his 'gods' in their idle Heaven. The ordinary human being of the higher races has, throughout the ages, with few exceptions, demanded in his idea of 'the Divine' exhaustless, ever-working power,¹ the taking of a side with good against evil and deep sympathy with human beings. On the other hand, the first of Epicurus's 'Articles of Faith' runs: 'The Blessed and Incorruptible nature neither has trouble of his own nor causes trouble to others.'

How childish is the notion that can associate Divine action in any way with 'trouble'! No reverent human spirit ever conceived such a thought.

With regard to the lines quoted above (vi. 68-78), Dr. Fowler says: 'This passage is the nearest approach to real religion that we find in the history of Roman Epicurism, yet so far as we know it bore no fruit,' for, as he goes on to say, 'according to Epicurus the Power manifesting itself in the universe is not a Divine Power but a mechanical one: the gods have nothing to do with it.' At times the Epicurean within the poet's own personality overmasters both the thinker and the man. He forgets that it is not superstitious fears alone which close the soul to the influx of the Divine.

III. Whether from one quarter or from another, Lucretius seems fated to be misunderstood. A very able writer to whom we owe our most reliable treatise on the philosophy of Schopenhauer, Professor William Caldwell, has attempted to explain the strange (it has been called 'portentous') personality of the poet from his heredity as a Roman. He says:

'Lucretius thinks of the main service of philosophy as consisting in the power of emancipating the human mind from superstition. All this is quite typical of the essentially practical nature of the Roman character, of its conception of education as in the main discipline and duty, of its distrust of Greek intellectualism, and of its preoccupation with the necessities of the struggle for existence and for government, of its lack of leisure and so on.'²

Does any one of these conceptions express what the name of 'Lucretius' stands for, unless it be the aim to deliver men from superstition; but is this aim less paramount in Epicurus's system, or does he preach it one whit less passionately than does the Roman poet? As to the 'lack of leisure,' does not Epicurus's famous maxim *λάθε βίωσας*, 'Hide your life,' simply ignore 'the struggle for existence,' and the ambition which was central to the Roman character? Epicurus postu-

¹ Passivity is as discordant with the idea of God as is feebleness.

² *Pragmatism and Idealism*, 1913, p. 119.

lated leisure more than any other teacher has done; to him it was the main necessity of life, whereas to the Roman riches, power and victory in war were the things that matter. As to 'education' again, it was Epicurus himself who scoffed at culture and held all *Μουσική* to be 'unprofitable and idle.' The average Roman might indeed 'distrust Greek intellectualism,' but the Epicurean's rejection of metaphysic, of all except what our senses tell us, is something far more serious.

All this is no more valid than it would be to claim Lucretius's special poetic gift as due to his Roman heredity. There is much in Lucretius which is abnormal, and which can no more be explained from his Roman origin than could the strange, distorted temperament of another man of genius, Schopenhauer, born in the year before the French Revolution, be explained simply from the conditions of life and thought in that era.

JOHN MASSON.

NOTES ON DEMOSTHENES AND THE YOUNGER PLINY.

(1) DEMOSTHENES, *Pro Phormione* (XXXVI.) 8: ἀρπάζοντος δὲ τούτου καὶ πόλλ' ἀπὸ κοινῶν ὄντων τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλίσκειν οἰομένου δεῖν, λογιζόμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἐπίτροποι, ὅτι, εἰ δεήσει κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας, ὅς' ἂν οὗτος ἐκ κοινῶν τῶν χρημάτων ἀναλώσῃ, τούτοις ἐξελόντας ἀντιμοιρεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ νέμειν, οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἔσται περιόν, νείμασθαι τὰ ὄνθ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔγνωσαν.

(ἀντιμοιρεῖ S: ἀντιμοιρεῖ FQ: τὰς ἀντιμοιρίας A.)

ἀντιμοιρεῖ is a unique and suspicious form. Almost all adverbs of this type are compounds of ἀ-priv., νη-, παν-, or αὐτο-, and of these only αὐτοβοεῖ and πανδημεῖ seem to be common in classical prose (see Kühner-Blass, *Gr.Gr.* I. 2, p. 303; and cf. Paley and Sandys, *ad loc.*). Hence some editors follow A in reading τὰς ἀντιμοιρίας, a reading which has the advantage of supplying an object to ἐξελόντας, on which τούτοις can depend. But the reading of S calls for explanation.

I suggest that Demosthenes wrote τούτοις ἐξελόντας ἀντίμοιρ' εἶτα τὰ λοιπὰ νέμειν. The word ἀντίμοιρος is almost unknown, but most editors read it (for M's ἰσοτίμοιρον) in Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 320, σκότῳ φάος ἀντίμοιρον. A's τὰς ἀντιμοιρίας can be explained as a good gloss on ἀντίμοιρα.

(2) DEMOSTHENES, *Adv. Polyclem* (L.) 36: λέγοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, ἀπεκρινάμεν αὐτῷ ὅτι σκεύη μὲν διὰ τοῦτο οὐ λάβοιμι ἐκ τοῦ νεωρίου, 'ὅτι σὺ ἀδόκιμα ἐποίησας αὐτά.'

Apollodorus is describing a heated interview which he had at Thasos with

the defendant Polycles, his successor as trierarch, who was obstinately refusing to take over his ship. Polycles declared that Apollodorus' extravagance had embarrassed his colleagues and successors; and he absolutely refused to buy the ship's tackle, which was admittedly Apollodorus' private property. He pointed out that Apollodorus, had he chosen, could have drawn government tackle from the depôt. The sentence which I have quoted is Apollodorus' report of his own reply to this attack. Editors do not seem to find it difficult, but to me it is most obscure. How can Polycles be said to have ruined the tackle which Apollodorus might have drawn from the depôt? I see no answer, unless Polycles was (a) a dockyard official or (b) an immediately preceding trierarch. It is most unlikely that he held either position.

The difficulty is removed by the insertion of ἄν. The sentence then runs, ὅτι σὺ ἀδόκιμ' <ἄν> ἐποίησας αὐτά. 'Because you would so have ruined the tackle that the arsenal authorities would have refused to pass it when it came back to the depôt.' The state, Apollodorus implies, would have suffered, at least for a time; and Polycles could have made trouble for his predecessor by asserting that the damage was done before he took over the tackle. The answer is a gibe. Apollodorus does not press it, nor must we, for it is certain that at the date when he was fitting out his ship his individual successor was not yet chosen; nor was it then obvious that the ship would still be at sea when

Apollodorus' term of service expired. But the gibe was good enough for the occasion, and Apollodorus knew that the judges would applaud the man who had spared their pockets.

(3) Demosthenes, *Contra Cononem* (LIV.) 26.

Ariston here describes how Conon and his associates wasted time at the *δίαίτα* by various methods, including the putting in of irrelevant evidence: *καὶ γράφοντες μαρτυρίας οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐταίρας εἶναι παιδίον αὐτῷ τοῦτο καὶ πεπονθέναι τὰ καὶ τά.*

This is taken to mean that Conon put in evidence that his son Ctesias (whom he asserted to be the only person involved in the fight in which Ariston was hurt) was *illegitimate*, and that therefore he (Conon) was not legally responsible for Ctesias' actions. The subject of *πεπονθέναι τὰ καὶ τά* is variously explained as Conon or as Ctesias.

If the text is sound, it is difficult to see how else to take it; but this interpretation is not satisfactory. In the first place, the use of *παιδίον* of a grown man is odd: Demosthenes uses the word thirty times, never of an adult; and Plato's usage is the same. Secondly, had Conon really sworn that his son was a bastard, the respectable Ariston could scarcely have been content to dismiss the plea as 'irrelevant.' I suggest the transposition of *τοῦτο* and *καί*, reading *ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐταίρας εἶναι παιδίον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦτο πεπονθέναι τὰ καὶ τά*: 'that he (Ctesias) has a child by a *hetaira*, and that it has been treated in such-and-such a way.' The contemptuously allusive manner of the reference explains the vagueness of *αὐτῷ*. This reading fits well with Ariston's forecast of Conon's defence in chapter 14. 'He will say,' he declares, 'that Ctesias belongs to a Hell-Fire Club, *καὶ πολλὰς περὶ ἐταίρας καὶ εἰληφέναι καὶ*

δεδωκέναι πληγὰς, καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι νέων ἀνθρώπων. ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παροίνους μὲν τινας καὶ ὑβριστὰς κατασκευάσει, ἀγνώμονας δὲ καὶ πικροὺς.

I suggest that Conon's 'irrelevant' evidence went to show that Ariston had in some way injured a bastard child of Ctesias, and that this was represented as the real origin of the quarrel.

Mr. E. Harrison suggests to me as an alternative change *παιδίον αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ τὸ καὶ πεπονθέναι τὰ καὶ τά.*

Pliny, *Epist.* VIII. 23. 8, last sentence (the letter describes to Marcellinus Pliny's grief at the death of Junius Avitus): 'in tantis tormentis eram cum scriberem haec scriberem sola; neque enim nunc aliud aut cogitare aut loqui possum. uale.'

If the text is sound, this seems to mean: 'So great' (*i.e.* 'you know now how great') 'were my agonies when I wrote this, and wrote this only: this only, I say, for at this moment I can neither think nor speak of anything else.' But this is a most carefully worded letter and such slovenliness of phrasing is foreign to the context; it can scarcely be explained as due to the affectation of inarticulate grief. Moreover, Pliny is always polite. This letter contains no sort of allusion to the affairs of its recipient; it does not contain the words 'tu' or 'tuus,' nor one single verb in the second person, and Pliny was almost bound to apologise for this aloofness. The apology (with the MS. text) is slight and lame; all the emphasis is thrown on Pliny's own mental condition. But if <'ut haec'> be inserted after 'scriberem haec,' the whole sentence becomes a polite explanation of the deficiencies of the letter: 'in tantis tormentis eram cum scriberem haec <ut haec> scriberem sola: neque enim nunc aliud aut cogitare aut loqui possum. uale.'

D. S. ROBERTSON.

PROPERTIUS, CYNTHIA, AND AUGUSTUS.

WHAT Mommsen writes about the state of morality in Rome and Italy, when Julius founded the Empire, we must take as gospel truth; it is not even a highly coloured picture. The passage in Dio LIV. 16, which asserts that in

18 B.C., after all the years of civil war, the class of 'ingenui' in Rome numbered more males than females, implies an awful state of things, a general practice of female infanticide. Further proof can be found in Seec's *Geschichte des*

Untergangs der Antiken Welt, I. 5, and *Anhang*. Marriage was a burden undertaken from patriotic motives only, and the usual age for the girl was twelve to fourteen. It is certain, therefore, allowing even for the earlier age of maturity in Italy, that anything like sexual passion was out of the question. When the schoolgirl grew up, her husband had had enough of her. For him, love could only be satisfied with another man's wife or with an hetaira.

Propertius, who belonged to a family which had suffered much in the wars, had a conscientious objection to producing cannon-fodder and had renounced the usual public civil-service career. He had made up his mind very definitely to be the poet of love, and of a new kind of romantic love. He was not to drift into any sort of 'affaire' like Ovid or the others; he wished to find a mistress who would really be his muse and to whom he would be faithful, and whom he would repay by his poetry. The woman who captured him happened to be an expert on poetry; her fault was that she was too fond of luxury. Propertius was not a rich man, and could not afford to be extravagant in the carrying out of his schemes: he had rejected the bar and the civil service, and he had the usual recourse to a patron, whose function was obvious.

But give him the credit due to him. He was a brilliant young fellow, even if a little difficult, and a good marriage could have been easily negotiated for him. But he refused, and he refused for the sake of an ideal, the ideal of romantic love and poetry. This was not a Roman trait in the poet. The Romans were materialists, and so, not to marry wealth for the sake of an idea, and then to involve oneself with a sumptuous creature like Cynthia, was arrant folly. But Propertius kept to the course he had mapped out for himself for at least five years.

The amour started at latest in 30-29 B.C., before Augustus' first attempt at reform. Against the affair there was nothing to be said morally at that time, but much economically. What we have to find is, what it was legally. Before 28 B.C. she was his mistress, the relation-

ship being neither legal nor illegal. Then came 28 B.C., and the position of the lovers became doubtful, or at least Propertius thought so. What was the legislation, or the proposed legislation, of that year?

Usually it is considered that the law was one 'de maritandis ordinibus,' and that it contained a clause about 'infamia,' which applied to Cynthia, and which made marriage with her unthinkable. The poem II. 7 is taken to prove that she was 'infamis' according to the definition in the Lex Papia Poppaea of some time later. There could not be a wronger inference, and if she was 'infamis,' so were most of the women in Rome, with the result that marriage, instead of being encouraged, would have been rendered rarer still. People who quote the 'infamis' clause should quote in full with the explanation. The words are 'quae palam quaestum corpore facit fecerit,' and Ulpian (*Dig.* XXIII. 2. 43) expounds: 'palam' means 'sine dilectu'—i.e., without preference. 'A woman may give herself to one man or to more and may receive money, but she does not therefore come under the category: she must "vicem prostitutae sustinere," and if she does that, then she comes under the category even if she receives no money.' Further, if so, she would be one of those 'in quas stuprum non committitur,' and there never was a law which forbade commerce with such an one. But from Augustus' sixth consulate on, there was a law which prevented a man who had a wife from living in 'concubinatus' with another woman. He, however, legalised the state of 'concubinatus,' so that if a man who under the law ought to have married was summoned, he might plead that he lived in 'concubinatus,' and thus escape the penalty. (See Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, de stupro, 693. 2, and Pauly, s.v. concubinatus.)

If we remember how little is known of the actual legislation of that year, all this may seem very bold. But there is probably little doubt that the discussions of 28 B.C. included a law 'de adulteriis' as well as one 'de maritandis ordinibus.' This is clear from Horace III. 6. 21, where the various clauses of the later laws seem fore-

shadowed in a way which is impossible, unless there had been some actual talk or edict at the time of the writing of the ode, about 28 B.C. The important words are 'neque eligit' and 'sed iussa coram non sine conscio surgit marito.' This clause may have remained; the clause 'de maritandis ordinibus' had to be revoked because of the popular outcry, and it was this clause which had made the poet nervous.

The poem II. 7 proves, then, just the opposite of what it is usually taken to prove. Cynthia was not 'infamis,' and the question at issue was not that she could not marry, but that she would not. To marry his muse and to breed two or three little Roman soldiers for the Parthian wars—well, he escaped that fate and was glad of it; but there were other more indefinite dangers to be guarded against, and it was for that reason that he tied himself to Cynthia in legal 'concubinatus.'

Briefly, the trouble with the law, if it had been passed, would have been the children. It was no use marrying a woman unless children were to be the result of the marriage. Cynthia was very decidedly not a marrying woman, and her love for Propertius was not such as to make her accept the position of mother for his sake. She would resist and so would he, for, as he says at the end of the poem, his warfare is love, not arms, and the name of a successful lover was worth more to him than that of a successful father. The joy of the lovers was due to their being able to carry on more or less as before.

But only more or less. For, as has been said above, the lovers were scared and the 'lex de adulteriis' remained. The best plan for Propertius was clearly to legalise his status by promoting it from concubinage to concubinate. This status involved more than seems obvious at first sight, and clears up several difficulties which are otherwise unintelligible, in other parts of Propertius. If we bear in mind what Tacitus, *Ann.* III. 24, and Suet. *Nero* X., say about the laws of Augustus, the mention of the fact, at the end of Book III., after the break, and the news in IV. 7 that he is master of Cynthia's house, as well as the contract of III. 20,

may be understood, even though the explanation does not seem certain.

The man who lived in 'concubinatus' with a woman had a legal claim against her if she were unfaithful to him. Ulpian (*Dig.* XLVIII. 14. 5) says 'si uxor non fuerit in adulterio, concubina tamen fuit, iure quidem mariti accusare eam non poterit, quae uxor non fuit: iure tamen extranei accusationem instituere non prohibebitur, si modo ea sit quae in concubinatum se dando matronae nomen non amisit, ut puta quae patroni concubina fuit. Plane sive iusta uxor fuit sive iniusta (i.e. a legal concubina) accusationem instituere vir poterit: nam ut Sex. Caecilius ait, haec lex ad omnia matrimonia pertinet. Et in ea uxore potest maritus adulterium vindicare quae vulgaris fuerit, quamvis, si vidua esset, impune in eam stuprum committeretur.' Further, *Dig.* XXV. 7. 3: 'nec adulterium ab ipso committitur, nam quia concubinatus per leges nomen assumpsit, extra legis poenam est.'

Therefore, if Propertius were living in concubinate with Cynthia and he found her unfaithful, he could bring an action for adultery against her, or he could force her to fidelity to him by threatening an action. The events that are revelant are as follows: He had his ideal about love poetry and a perpetual mistress; for a while, things went well enough, but soon they began to go wrong. Often they quarrelled, often they patched it up. Cynthia was flighty, self-willed, independent. In III. 20 is the last arrangement. Cynthia is getting on: she has just had a bad rebuff from some lover, and Propertius offers to marry her—i.e., to marry her in the only way conceivable to him. There is a whole ceremony described, a sort of poetic marriage, with *foedera, iura, pacta*, and so on. This almost certainly means a legal arrangement. In an ordinary marriage there was little ceremony, no registration, but there always was a settlement of the property brought in by the wife. It is so here. Propertius has ceased to be madly in love with Cynthia, but he made one more effort, not only to bind her to him, but to rouse his enthusiasm for her by a mystical ceremony which would im-

press the imagination. But then came the break; then came the detectives, the forerunners of the *delatores* who were the ruin of the Empire, set round her house; then came his quasi-denunciation of her as a prostitute, and then we find him owning her house. What had happened?

He had discovered her infidelity and used his rights to obtain damages from her. The punishment, according to Julius Paulus (*Sententiae*, II. 26. 14), was the loss of half the dower and a third of the property. Whether the case came to court it is impossible to say, but probably not. There are flaws, of course. IV. 5 is not a denunciation of Cynthia as a prostitute, but it is at least a gross 'iniuria' to Cynthia and certainly applies to her. We do not know the terms of the agreement in III. 20; but we do know that at the beginning he gave her no presents; that later he objected to her wanting little presents

from him; that he occasionally made use of her property—e.g., Lygdamus; that she seems throughout to have been the wealthier of the two; that she was past her prime; that the house was once hers, and later was his. The settlement was therefore a sort of 'fundus dotalis,' and on a breach of the agreement he became master of her house.

Treat Propertius well and he was full of romantic un-Roman ideas. Scratch him, and he became an old Puritan, who would take advantage of the law and regarded morality as nothing but keeping within the law. She had tried him severely; now she must take the consequences. There is an alternative—that after inheriting her house by will he denounced her as a prostitute; but it is not a certain alternative, for the chronology is not clear. In any case, the alternative is not pleasant.

E. H. GODDARD.

QUINTILIAN ON LATIN WORD-ORDER.

QUINTILIAN'S teaching on order, like that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is scanty and unsystematic. From time to time he falls into banality and silliness. For banality, compare his paragraphs on solecisms (I. 5. 38), where he thinks it worth while to classify such schoolboy errors as *nam enim, in Alexandriam, quoque ego, enim hoc uoluit, autem non habuit*. For silliness, read the reason he gives for putting in the first place what comes first in order of time (9. 4. 25). The passage is, doubtless, based on the naïve remarks of Dionysius, ch. 5, p. 100, l. 25 (Rhys Roberts), but the reason is all Quintilian's own.

At 9. 4. 23 he tells us to put the word of weaker sense before the stronger word—e.g. you must not call a man *sacrilegus* and then *fur*, but *vice versa*! Next he speaks of what he calls *naturalis ordo*, illustrating by *uiros ac feminas, diem ac noctem, ortum et occasum*. At 9. 4. 24 he informs us that *quaedam ordine permutato fiunt superuacua, ut 'fratres gemini'; nam si 'gemini' praecesserint, 'fratres' addere non est necesse*. But neither Livy nor Cicero felt such scruples; for Livy (I. 24. 1)

has *trigemini fratres*, and Cicero (*De Div.* 2. 43. 90) *gemini fratres*, where 'twins' has special point. No doubt *fratres gemini*, like *fratris filius erat regis* (Livy I. 38. 1) and *populus Romanus*, is a more or less fixed locution; but if a Roman wished to emphasise *gemini* or *Romanus*, there is no reason why he should not place either word in front of the noun. See Weissenborn-Müller on *Romanus sum ciuis* (Livy 2. 12. 9) and examples there referred to of *Romanus populus*, etc.

The next words of the paragraph are surprising: *illa nimia quorundam fuit observatio, ut uocabula uerbis, uerba rursus aduerbiis, nomina appositis et pronomini-bus essent priora; nam fit contra quoque non indecore*. First, as to the general sense: Quintilian says, apparently, that certain rules of order are extravagant, because they are broken with good effect. For him exceptions disprove the rule. But one at least of these rules is utterly untrue of Latin—viz. that 'verbs should precede adverbs.' The explanation, of course, is that Quintilian is again borrowing from Dionysius: this time from ch. 5, p. 100, l. 8 (Rhys Roberts), τὰ ῥήματα πρότερα τάττειν τῶν ἐπιρρημά-

των. The assertion too that 'nouns precede verbs' comes also from Dionysius (ch. 5, p. 98, l. 7), as well as that 'epithets should follow their substantives' (ch. 5, p. 102, l. 16). As Dionysius says that 'pronouns should precede appellatives,' one may suspect that Quintilian wrote, not *et pronominiibus*, but *et pronomina nominibus essent priora*.

At 9. 4. 26 Quintilian tells us that, *si compositio patiatur*, the verb should come last: *in uerbis enim sermonis uis est*. He then proceeds to say that words must be fitted *quo congruunt maxime*, and introduces the simile, repeated at 8. 6. 62, of a structure built up by rough stones of varying size and shape. (This simile is adapted from Dionysius, ch. 6, p. 106, l. 2.) But he concludes (9. 4. 27) by remarking *felicissimus tamen sermo est, cui et rectus ordo et apta iunctura et cum his numerus apte cadens contigit*. No doubt; but what is *rectus ordo*? (Butler here translates by 'natural order,' and by 'straightforward order' at 8. 2. 22.) At 2. 5. 11 *sermo rectus* is contrasted with *sermo deflexus*, and seems to mean 'direct style,' as opposed to 'abnormal,' 'odd.' But we are still in the dark, and sadly need a distinct definition of *rectus*, as we do of *uitiosus* at 9. 4. 32, where Quintilian speaks of *uitiosa locatio uerborum* and *ordo uitiosus*.

At 9. 4. 28 Quintilian complains of *longae nimis transgressiones*, above all *in re tristi*. He quotes, by way of illustration, somewhat obscure fragments from Maecenas. The next section, however, is of greater interest: *saepe tamen est uehemens aliquis sensus in uerbo* (there is some considerable emphasis on a word), *quod si in media parte sententiae latet, transire intentionem et obscurari circumiacentibus solet, in clausula positum adsignatur auditori et infigitur, quale illud est Ciceronis, 'Vt tibi necesse esset in conspectu populi Romani uomere postridie.'* Then he adds, *Transfer hoc ultimum: minus ualebit*.

This is well; but who shall understand what Quintilian means when at 9. 4. 31 he says that Afer Domitius liked to 'harshen his rhythm' by transferring words in *clausulas*, and that it was solely for the sake of harshening the rhythm (*tantum asperandae compositionis gratia*) that he did so? Is

there anything wrong with *gratias agam continuo* or with *apud te iudicem periclitatur Laelia*? Afer presumably wished to emphasize the word abnormally placed. What may be the 'voluptuous and delicate rhythm' which Afer 'avoids' Quintilian does not explain.

The term 'hyperbaton' is defined at 8. 6. 62 as *uerbi transgressio*, and at 9. 3. 91 as *uerborum concinna transgressio* (the phrase is from Cic. *De Orat.* 3. 52. 201); but neither Cicero nor Quintilian gives a precise explanation of *concinna*. That the term 'hyperbaton' includes separation of words by a parenthesis is shown by Pliny in his letter to Tacitus, VIII. 7, and by Quintilian himself (8. 2. 15). At 8. 6. 65, after referring to examples of anastrophe (*mecum, quibus de rebus*, etc.), he gives a further definition of 'hyperbaton': *cum decoris gratia traicitur longius uerbum, proprie hyperbati tenet nomen*. But this is not enough. What is meant by *decor*? If there is transposition, from what norm is the departure made? And what are the limits of *longius*? Quintilian's example does not throw much light on these questions; it is the first line of Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*, '*animaduerti, iudices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas diuisam esse partes*,' and he comments thus: *nam 'in duas partes diuisam esse' rectum erat, sed durum et incomptum*. I presume that *durum* refers to the spondaic (*du*)*as p̄artes diuis(am) esse*—i.e. six successive longs as against four in Cicero's order; but what would Quintilian have said of Caesar's *est omnis diuis(a) in p̄artes trēs*—i.e. nine longs? It is hard to tell what Quintilian means by *incomptum*; perhaps the epithet differs little from *durum*. More interesting is the word *rectum*, which implies the recognition of a normal order. See further Quintilian's remarks at 9. 4. 68 and 9. 4. 70.

But no more need be said. Everybody knows that such hyperbata as *molestum adfert auxilium* are characteristic of all prose and all poetry. They doubtless originated from a desire to separate similar terminations; then the type became conventional, until even Vergil's *septem subiecta trioni*, which Quintilian next quotes, is not intolerable.

The topic of 'Ambiguities' is treated at 7. 9. 2-13. Quintilian begins with such trivialities as the ambiguous meaning of *gallus*, *Aiax*, *cerno*, and with other like puerilities. He quotes the well-worn ambiguities of *aio te*, *Aeacida*, *Romanos uincere posse*; and at 8. 2. 16, *Chremetem audiui percussisse Demean*. (In this later passage he cites the gem, *uisum a se hominem librum scribentem*, adding *nam etiamsi librum ab homine scribi patet* . . .—as if a man could be written by a book!) He next cites *Aen.* I. 476, and, much to the surprise of Heyne, thinks it possible that *tamen* may go with *huic ceruixque comaeque trahuntur*. Then in § 8 he gives us *testamento quidam iussit poni statuam auream hastam tenentem*. This may do for a *controuersia*, but no real judge could find ambiguity: *statuam auream* are the words first heard, and, unless we pause, as Quintilian suggests we might (§ 11), after *statuam*, they mean one thing only—viz. 'a statue of gold.' One might plead that *auream* belongs by position to both *statuam* and *hastam*, and the plea would be reasonable. My only wonder is that Quintilian does not suggest as a possible meaning 'ordered a spear to be set up holding a statue of gold'—a silliness of which he shows himself capable at 8. 2. 16. Other examples are found in § 11, but, as they are not concerned with order, I omit them.

At 8. 2. 14 the sensible remark is made: *quare nec sit tam longus [sermo] ut eum prosequi non possit intentio nec traiectione uel ultra modum hyperbato finis eius differatur*; then is quoted, as an awful example of *mixtura uerborum*, I. 109 of *Aen.* I.: *Saxa uocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus aras*. The line is introduced during a fine description of a storm at sea. At first blush one feels that some stupid antiquarian has been busy, like the gentleman who improved on Horace, *Odes* 4. 4. 18. But the line may be defended on grounds both of taste and of order. The word *aras* implies more than a mere flat projection: it suggests blood and death to the victim. As for order, it should be observed that *mediis*, preposited and separated, has interest: the ship is not close to the shore, but on the high seas (cp. *Ecl.* 8. 59, *Georg.* 3. 237, *Aen.* 3. 665),

where rocks are least to be expected. Secondly, the group *mediis quae in fluctibus* qualifies both *saxa* and *aras*, and therefore, for the best of reasons, lies between them.

The next important topic is 'crescendo' (8. 4. 8). Quintilian says, *crescit oratio . . . cum . . . semper aliquid priore maius insequitur*. He then quotes Cic. Phil. 2. 25. 63 [*si inter cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret?*] *in coetu uero populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum*, etc. The words in square brackets are not quoted at this point, and are misquoted at 8. 4. 10 as *si hoc tibi inter cenam*, etc. This order is quite ineffective in contrast to Cicero's, where the early position of *inter cenam* prepares us for the antithesis in *coetu*. But to return to Quintilian's comment. He writes: *singula incrementum habent. Per se deforme uel non in coetu uomere, in coetu etiam non populi, populi etiam non Romani, uel si nullum negotium ageret, uel si non publicum, uel si non magister equitum*. It is possible that the effect suggested by Quintilian might be achieved by pauses after *uero*, *populi*, and *negotium* (see his remark at 11. 3. 39); but, after all, the antitheses are (*inter cenam*): *in coetu*; (*comitum*): *populi Romani*; (*otium agens*): *negotium publicum gerens*; (*magister bibendi*?): *magister equitum*. It is true that the separation of *populi Romani* from *coetu* by *uero* may give stress to *populi Romani*, for the more frequent order (which Cicero uses four lines earlier) would be *in populi Romani coetu*. To emphasise *Romani* by making it preposited would be unusual, since *populus Romanus* is a stereotyped locution (but see on Livy 2. 12. 9, quoted above); nor does Cicero draw our attention especially to *publicum*, otherwise he would have placed it in front of the noun, as he does in *Pro Murena* 36. 76: *odit populus Romanus priuatam luxuriam, publicam magnificentiam diligit*.

At 8. 6. 40 Quintilian writes on the 'epithet.' He tells us that the poets employ it with special frequency and freedom, and then adds: *Namque illis satis est conuenire id uerbo cui apponitur; itaque et 'dentes albos' et 'umida uina' in iis non reprehendemus; apud oratorem, nisi aliquid efficitur, redundat*. Here

Quintilian charges poets with frequent use of otiose epithets. His first example, presumably, is from *Aen.* 7. 667 and 11. 681. In both passages the whiteness of the teeth implies strength and vigour in the animal; moreover, the gleam of the teeth adds to the terror of the head-dress. The phrase *umida uina* is from *Georg.* 3. 364. The poet is describing the cold of Scythia, and adds *caeduntque securibus umida uina*. So far from being otiose, *umida* comes as an effective paraprosokeian: they cut with axes what is (normally) liquid—viz. wine. Had Quintilian quoted *Aen.* 5. 594 he would have had a better case. Vergil there writes: *delphinum similes qui per maria umida nando | Carpathium Libycumque secant [luduntque per undas]*. I am thankful that *umida* is not preposited. But there are several objections to the lines: *delphinum* is the only instance in Vergil of a genitive with *similis* (he uses the dative seventeen times); emphasis on gambolling rather than on swimming is required, and the words *luduntque per undas* are not in all manuscripts. Perhaps Servius is right when he sees in *maria umida* an imitation of ὑγρά κέλευθα; the imitation, however, is anything but happy. Conington compares *Aen.* 12. 476, where the swallow *nunc umida circa | stagna sonat*; but here *umida* is preposited and separated, and the sense is that the swallow, in search of insects, flits about the waters of the *stagna*. The time is probably spring; in summer the *stagna* would be dried up.

In speaking of antitheses and comparisons, Quintilian at 9. 3. 34 quotes *Aen.* 7. 759: *te nemus Angitiaë, uitrea te Fucinus unda*. The slight trajection of *te* is obviously *metri gratia*; but *uitrea* . . . *Fucinus unda* deserves comment: the ablative of description, *uitrea* . . . *unda*, surrounding the thing described is common in all poetry. Compare

Horace, *Odes* 3. 4. 54, *minaci Porphyryon statu*, and the note on *Odes* 3. 2. 32 in *Horace, Odes and Epodes: A Study in Poetic Word-Order*.

Quintilian deals briefly with good sound in arrangement of words at 8. 3. 16, and with avoidance of monotonous case-endings and rhythms at 4. 2. 118. He refers to breath-pauses at 11. 3. 39 and again at 9. 4. 68, where he cites once more *Pro Cluentio* 1. 1 (*animaduerti, iudices, omnem accusatoris orationem in duas diuisam esse partes*), first saying that the sentence 'should be pronounced without a halt for breath,' and then that the sentence falls into four groups (viz. *animaduerti, iudices; omnem accusatoris orationem; in duas; diuisam esse partes*), and that after each group we make a slight pause. If this is true, then inevitably *duas* has interest, and suggests such antitheses as *non tres, non quattuor*, etc.

The last and most peculiar comment on this much-quoted passage is found at 9. 4. 92, where he says that the rhythm of *animaduerti* is justified because 'partition' requires speed!

I have purposely left to the end one example of ambiguity mentioned by Quintilian at 7. 9. 8 because of the phrase *per flexum*. He there says that *quingenta ubi erant centum inde occidit Achilles* might be understood to mean, 'where there were fifty, Achilles slew one hundred' (!), and that the ambiguity 'fit *per flexum*.' Butler translates 'by a mistaken inflexion of the voice'; but what we want is surely 'by a mistaken pause.' Is it possible that *flexus* acquired the sense of 'pause' from the meaning which, I venture to think, it bears at 10. 7. 11—viz. 'the jump from the end of one line to the beginning of the next,' while *transitus* signifies 'the jump from the bottom of one page to the top of the next'?

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

ON STRABO XI. 8. 2 (p. 511).

μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασιν τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ἀσιοὶ καὶ Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι, καὶ ὁρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περσίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατέχον Σάκαι.

WHO were the Τόχαροι, and what have they to do with 'Tocharisch, die

Sprache der Indoskythen,' as it is called by Sieg and Siegling (*Sitzungsberichte d. königl. preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften*, 1907)? Herodotus does not mention them. Pliny mentions together Tochari and Phuni as cannibals. Ptolemy (VI. 11) says they

were a μέγα ἔθνος on the banks of the Iaxartes. Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII. 6. 37), chronicling the year A.D. 363, makes the Tochari supreme among the other tribes. There are a few other references to this people in classical literature, but they do not tell us much more. All we learn from this source is that they were the chief of the Scythian tribes who conquered the Greek kingdom of Bactria in the second century B.C.

From Chinese historians we learn that the people who conquered Bactria in the second century B.C. were called the Yue-Che, a people formerly (c. 200 B.C.) neighbours of the Chinese, but driven westward about 170 B.C. by another powerful people, the Hiong-Nu. Thus it seems that the Yue-Che are to be identified, if not with the Τόχαροι, at any rate with those Scythians who, Strabo tells us, crossed the Iaxartes and conquered Greek Bactria.

It is impossible, with the meagre evidence which we possess, to say with certainty what language these people spoke. Two suggestions are put forward: one, which was mentioned above, that they spoke Tocharish or Tokharian, or whatever name we give to that Indo-European *centum* language spoken at Kucha and Turfan down to the seventh century A.D.—Leumann called it simply *Sprache I.*; the other is that they spoke the Iranian language of Khotan (Leumann, *Sprache II.*), which we may call Khotanese, following Hoernle.

Charpentier (*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, 1917, pp. 347-388) takes the former view, and concludes that the Τόχαροι, otherwise the Yue-Che, the conquerors of Bactria, spoke the language of Kucha and Turfan, which we call Tocharish—the name given to it by F. W. K. Müller. But this language, as far as we can judge, was not spread over a wide area, and there are no traces of it in Bactria. Its two chief centres, Kucha, whose inhabitants spoke dialect B, and Turfan, where dialect A was used, are two towns on the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, a long way from Bactria and cut off from it by the North Imaus range. It seems to be confined to the neighbourhood of these two towns. But if it

were the language of the Τόχαροι, or Yue-Che, who moved across Central Asia to Bactria, we should expect to find traces of it more widely distributed. Now the other language, the Iranian dialect of Khotan, fulfils this condition admirably. Traces of it are found right across Central Asia in the very area through which we know that the Yue-Che passed. So it seems that perhaps after all the name Tocharish or Tokharian ought to have been given to the language of Khotan and not to the Keltic-like tongue of Kucha and Turfan.

There is, however, one fact which may justify the name Tocharish. The Turkish name for it was 'toçrı.' So in using the name Tocharish for one language, and Τόχαροι for a people who spoke quite a different tongue, we are perhaps not creating any more confusion than actually existed. It is quite possible that in Central Asia the same word (etymologically) meant a certain people and the language of a certain other people. A somewhat similar state of affairs exists in our own civilisation to-day, where *German*, *allemand*, *deutsch*, all refer to one language, while *Dutch* and *deutsch*, though one word, refer to two.

Charpentier (*loc. cit.*) has another interesting remark. He says that the Τόχαροι were Kelts. As we have seen, he regards the Τόχαροι as the speakers of Tocharish, and this we think is open to doubt. (See above and further Baron A. von Staël-Holstein in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 1908, p. 1367.) Moreover, he regards it as proved on linguistic grounds that Tocharish is a member of the Keltic group of languages. This is also very doubtful. The differences between Keltic and Tocharish are numerous, and, I think, fundamental. Lastly, his explanations of the appearance before 200 B.C. of these Kelts on the borders of China are not altogether convincing.

'On a general survey,' he says, 'the Galatians, with the exception of isolated collections of mercenaries, do not seem to have gone outside the borders of Asia Minor. Proofs that they went farther are entirely wanting. But who will with certainty deny that, in the

confused conditions which at this time prevailed in the East, not one group or stem of this warlike nomad people might have gone farther east and even reached Central Asia? Certainty here we unfortunately cannot aim at; the possibility or even the probability of such a wandering remains open in view of the periodic power of expansion of the Kelts right up to this time.'

But all this is a little beside the point. The *Γαλάται* only arrived in Asia Minor about 280 B.C., and the Yue-Che were already in 200 B.C. a well-established and powerful people on the borders of China. This leaves an incredibly short time for any section of the Galatians to cross Central Asia unknown to anybody, and make themselves a powerful neighbour to the Chinese and the Hiong-Nu. Charpentier realises this, and therefore goes on to say: 'The spreading of the Kelts eastward is probably an earlier and a more extensive thing than one is generally inclined to suppose,' and suggests that certain of the Kelts may have separated from the rest much earlier and reached Central Asia by going

north of the Black Sea. This is, of course, not historically attested, but from what we know of the habits of the Kelts it must be allowed that it is quite possible.

Charpentier, however, tries to prove too much. His case for the speakers of Tocharish being Kelts would be much stronger if he had not sought to identify the *Τόχαροι* with the speakers of Tocharish. It is quite arguable that the inhabitants of Kucha and Turfan were Kelts who came north of the Black Sea at an early date, but it seems much less likely that the Yue-Che should be Kelts.

The linguistic side of the question has not yet been thrashed out. It is not by any means certain that Tocharish is a Keltic language, and it is more than uncertain whether its speakers were Kelts. Lastly, it seems very improbable that the *Τόχαροι*, whom Strabo mentions here as the chief among the conquerors of Bactria, should be Kelts, or that they should be the speakers of Tocharish.

T. A. SINCLAIR.

*University College,
Southampton.*

LOCERICA.

THE *Locrica*, or 'Locrian Songs' (*Λοκρικαὶ ᾠδαί*), bore in antiquity—and probably deserved—a bad name. Athenaeus speaks of them as 'adulterous' and 'sultry' (*καipurώτερα*, 697b); and tells us, upon the authority of Clearchus, that they were 'no better than Sappho and Anacreon' (639a). Their first parent was, perhaps, the rather mysterious Theano, a Locrian poetess of uncertain era. Two specimens of them survive, and in each the verses are spoken by a woman. Both are written in loose trochaics—a metre already spoken of by Aristotle as *κορδακικώτερος* (*Rhet.* III. 8, 4), and own brother, in certain of its types, to the Sotadean metre (Hephaestion XI. schol.). The *Locrica* perhaps look back to Theano as the Sotadeans to the major ionics of Sappho. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the major ionic metre is used, apart from its Hellenistic debasements, always by poetesses, never by

poets (*Classical Quarterly*, 1922, pp. 114-5).

In the time of Athenaeus a centre of 'Locrian' song was the region designated rather vaguely in antiquity as 'Phenicia.' One of the interlocutors in the *Deipnosophistae* is the Phœnician Ulpian (who has been identified by some with the great jurist—there were Ulpian in Phœnicia centuries after the time of Athenaeus). Ulpian wandered about Phœnicia singing and collecting the Locrian songs, and one of them is preserved by Athenaeus, 697b-c. As it appears there in Kaibel's text, two of its lines are unmetrical. It is unmetrical as it stands in Bergk, *Carm. Pop.* 27; and Bergk's Apparatus records emendations neither convincing nor plausible. Wilamowitz, in his *Griechische Verskunst* (pp. 343-4), is hardly more satisfying than Kaibel. Yet the very slight corrections necessary to the restoration of sense and metre ought to have been

made long ago. I give the lines as I think they should be written :

ὁ τί πάσχεις ; μὴ προδῶς ἄμμ', ἱκετεύω.
πρὶν μολεῖν καὶ κείνον, ἀνστῶ, μὴ κακὸν σέ
μέγα ποιήσῃ κάμῃ τήνδε δειλὰ κρῖν.
ἀμέρα καὶ δὴ· τὸ φῶς διὰ τὰς θυρίδας οὐκ εἰσορῆς ;

2. μολεῖν καὶ *scripsi* : καὶ μόλιν *cod.*, ἀνστῶ *scripsi* : ἀνιστῶ *cod.* σέ post κακὸν *add.* *Bergk.* 3. ποιήσῃ κάμῃ *Dindorf* : ποιήσῃ καὶ με *cod.* τήνδε *scripsi* : τὴν *cod.* 4. δὴ *Bergk.* : ἤδη *cod.* εἰσορῆς *Meineke* : ἐκόρης *cod.*

The first three lines are trochaic trimeters (3 catalectic), the last a trochaic tetrameter. *ἱκετεύω* in 1 is not more remarkable than *ἱκεσίου* πρὸς *Ζηνός* in Apollonius II. 215. Of Wilamowitz' 'iambic trimeters with choriambic anacalasis' I know not what to say.

Wilamowitz has placed beside this piece eight lines of a wall-inscription of the second century B.C. from Marisa, in Judaea. The lines are trochaic trimeters, but the few—and in most cases obvious—changes required to exhibit

them as such Wilamowitz has not made :

οὐκ ἔχω τί σοι πάθω ἢ τί χαρίσωμαι,
κῆτα κείμαι μεθ' ἑτέρου, σέ μέγα φιλοῦσα ;
ἀλλὰ ναι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μέγα τι χαίρω,
δ<τ>τι σοῦ θοιμάτιον <ἐνθ> ἐνέχυρα κείται.
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀποτρέχω, σοὶ δὲ καταλείπω
εὐρυχωρήν γ' ὅλην· πρᾶσσ' ὅττι βούλη.
μὴ κρότει τῶ[ν] τοιχ<ι>ον· ψόφος ἐγγένοιτ' ἄν.
ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν θυρ<ιδί>ων νεῦμ' εἰσικνεῖται.

[] = *delenda* : < > = *supplenda*.

2. κῆτα κείμαι *scripsi* : κατὰ κείμαι *Inscr.* 6. γ' ὅλην *scripsi* : πολλὴν *Inscr.* 7. κρότει *scripsi* : κρούει *Inscr.* (the error arose from confusion of T and T) : ἐγγένοιτ' ἄν *scripsi* : ἐγγίγνεται *Inscr.* 8. νεῦμ' εἰσικνεῖται *scripsi* : νεῦμα σ' κλείται *Inscr.*

The lines clearly belong to the same species of composition as those preserved by Athenaeus, and the text of them would not seem to have been very deeply corrupted. Wilamowitz prefaces the many changes which he proposes by saying that he has no intention of restoring the text, and certainly he is far from doing so.

H. W. GARROD.

THE SPEAKING STONE.

THE following interesting epigram was discovered at Halikarnassos, and published by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf and G. Karo in *Mitt. Ath.* XXXV. (1921, nominally 1920), p. 157 :

- αὐδὴ) τεχνήεσσα λίθο λέγε, τίς τοδ' [ἀγαλμα
στήσεν· Ἀπόλλωνος βωμὸν ἐπαγλαί[ων] ;
- Παναμύης υἱὸς Κασβώλλιος, εἰ μ' ἐπ[ιστρύ]νει
ἔξειπείν, δεκάτην τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε [θεῶι.

It was on the base of a bronze statue. The language, spelling, and lettering are all consistent with an early date; and a Panamyes, son of Kasbollis, is mentioned in an inscription of Halikarnassos earlier than B.C. 454/3 (see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*⁸, 45, l. 12 = Hicks and Hill, 27). It is therefore very probably of the early fifth century. The only other dialogue-epigram which is so early as this is *App. Plan.* (= *Anthol. Graec.* XVI., Didot edition) 23, ascribed to Simonides, which runs :

- εἰπὼν τίς τίνας ἔσσι, τίνας πατρίδος, τί δὲ νικῇ ;
- Κασμύλος Εὐδαίρου, Πύθια πύξ, Πόδιος.

This form, afterwards so popular in sepulchral inscriptions, was not apparently used for that purpose till considerably later—the late fourth or early third century (see D. M. Robinson,

Two New Epitaphs from Sardis, in *Anatolian Studies pres. to Ramsay*).

The editors confess themselves unable to find a parallel to the expression *αὐδὴ τεχνήεσσα λίθου*, which certainly is not very common, although one might suggest that Sophokles' *φωνὴ κερκίδος* (ap. Arist. *Poet.* 1454b, 36 ; fr. 522, Nauck) is similar. The famous saying, *ἐὰν οὗτοι σιωπήσουσιν, οἱ λίθοι κράξουσιν* (Luc. 19, 40), is quite different, being a strongly hyperbolic phrase (if not meant as a serious promise of a miracle), and referring to ordinary stones; whereas Sophokles and our epigrammatist are using an easily understood metaphor, the former probably speaking of the tapestry on which was embroidered the story of Philomela, the latter of the lettering on the block of stone. Two other inscriptions, however, give fairly exact parallels, though they are much later in date, indicating that the conceit gained some popularity, at least in Asia, and travelled far.

An epitaph found at Konia (Ikonion) in 1910, and published by Professor Calder in *Rev. de Philologie* XXXVI. (1912), p. 67, no. 36, begins :

Xalpere πάντες.

- λάρναξ αἰθέσσα, τί τ[ῆς] ὑπὸ σήματι κεῖθεις ;
— ἀνδράποδον θαλάμου τοῦ ποτε μουσπολό[υ].

This is of about the second century A.D. It has nothing corresponding to *τεχνήσσσα*; no doubt by that time the turn of phrase was too familiar to puzzle anyone. Another late inscription, from Sebastopolis, in Galatia (Kaibel, 402), while less successful in point of scansion, keeps closer to the phraseology of the Halikarnassian epigram:

γαῖά με τίκ[τ]εν ἀφωνο[ν] ἐν οὐρεσιν (sic) παρθέν[ο]ν
ἀγνήν,
ἡσύχιον τὸ [π]άροιθεν (sic) νῦν αὐ[τῆς] ἔσαν ἀπασιν,
σμικελύφοις τέχν[η]σιν κήρ' εἰποῦσα¹ θανόντος.

The Galatian versifier's first line seems reminiscent of the 'Homeric' epitaph of Midas, *χαλκῇ παρθένος εἰμὶ κτε.* (literary evidence in Allen's edition of *Vita Homeri Herod.* 135, crit. note); this certainly continued to furnish

¹ Meant for *εἰποῦσαν* with the -ν neglected in scansion, or simply a false concord?

GRAFFITI AT OSTIA.

WITH this peculiar class of epigraphical material, it is a not infrequent occurrence that the *editio princeps* is susceptible of improvement. The first five years of exposure to air and weather may make the letters more legible, as the second lustrum may witness the progressive disintegration or complete destruction of the layer of stucco on which they were incised. A recent visit to Ostia has given me occasion to study some of the interesting *graffiti* in the side rooms of the 'House of Jupiter and Ganymedes,' which were published by Dr. Calza in *Monumenti Antichi*, XXVI. (1920), columns 368-375. Two of the improved readings or interpretations are of consequence as modifying somewhat the views there expressed as to the uses to which these rooms were put, and one of the *graffiti*, the first which I shall discuss, has exceptional importance of its own.

Column 369, l. 19: The fourth character appears to be a ligature for KA. The inscription, *VII. kal. Commodas*, testifies to an extraordinary instance of imperial vanity or courtly adulation. This is described by a first-hand witness, Cassius Dio, LXXII. xv. 3, as follows, in his enumeration of the mad freaks originating in the exaggerated *ego* of Commodus: *καὶ τέλος καὶ οἱ μῆνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπεκλήθησαν, ὥστε καταριθμεῖσθαι αὐτοῦς οὕτως, Ἀμαζόνιος Ἀνίκητος Εὐτυχῆς Εὐσεβῆς Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Αἰγούστος Ἡράκλειος Ῥωμαῖος Ὑπερπύων.*

Here the order indicates that the month Commodus was August; and this is definitely stated by the fourth-century *Scriptores Historiae*

models at least in the region in which supposedly it was first erected (see the inscription of Utch-Eyuk, published by Souter in *Class. Rev.*, 1896, p. 420, which embodies three lines of it in the epitaph of one Proklos). Has the writer distorted the phraseology to mean, not a statue of a virgin, but a virgin or unwrought stone? Kirchhoff was the first to see that the tomb itself, not the person buried (a *grammaticus*, Maximus by name), is supposed to be speaking.

Finally, the inscription of the thirteenth century (C.I.G. 8748, see Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*⁴, p. 251, n. 6) seems to combine a reference to the Biblical saying, already quoted, with the metaphor of the speaking stone which we have been discussing:

ἀν οἱ λ[ί]θοι κρ[ά]ζουσιν ἐκ [π]αροιμίας,
πέμψον βοήν, [ἀφω]νός ἀψυχός πέ[τ]ρα.

ἀφωνός is Moulton's conjecture, adopted by Deissmann.

H. J. ROSE.

Augustae, VII. (Commodus), xi. 8: *Menses quoque in honorem eius pro Augusto Commodum, pro Septembri Herculem, pro Octobri Inuictum, pro Nouembri Exsuperatorium, pro Decembri Amazonium ex signo ipsius adulatores uocabant*, where in other respects a different version of the affair is followed.

The month Commodus seems especially to have impressed the fancy of the Romans, for it is mentioned repeatedly by the compilers and grammarians of the fourth and later centuries: Aurelius Victor, *Caess.* XVII. 2, *Septembrem mensem Commodum appellauerat*; Eutropius VIII. 15, *Septembrem mensem ad nomen suum transferre conatus est, ut Commodus diceretur* (where the version of Paianios gives the month as November and says that the attempt failed); Jerome, *Chron.* a. Abr. 2200, *Commodus Septembrem mensem nomine suo appellauit*; Prosper, in *Chron. Min.* ed. Mommsen, I, p. 432, section 711, *Commodus Septembrem mensem nomine suo appellauit*; *Corpus Gloss. Lat.* ed. Loewe-Goetz, IV. p. 258, l. 13, *Mensis Commodus September mensis*; *id.*, V., p. 572, l. 53, *Mensis Commodus September*. Curiously enough, all these later sources (except Paianios) state that the month in question was not August but September; but as some of them evidently, and others probably, copied one from another, or drew from a common source, their agreement does not lend cumulative value to their evidence.

This short-lived nomenclature is used once in the *Socr. Hist. Aug.*, VII. (Commodus), xii. 6: *III. nonas Commodias (sic)*; but until now the only epigraphic vestige of the mad emperor's innovation has been the date on the side of the

marble base at Lanuvium, *C.I.L.* XIV., 2113 (Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 5193), as given by Pighius: . . . *idus Commodas*.

The present inscription is also of importance, because its date serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the painted stucco on which it is incised.

Below it is another *graffito*: *VIII. id. Iun.*

In the inscription reproduced as Fig. 12 on columns 371 f. of *Monumenti Antichi* above cited, the proper name should be transcribed *Hermadion*.

The revised reading of the two *graffiti* reproduced as Figs. 14 and 15 on cols. 373 f. necessitates a partial revision of previous ideas as to the occupants of these quarters and the pleasures which are here commemorated; for not all the names are masculine, as had been thought. Of the trio in the first inscription, the second person was undoubtedly *Prima*; the final A is above suspicion. As for the third name, I am not convinced that it was *Epaphroditus*. With all due reserve, one is tempted to suggest that after the ET which followed *PRIMA*, the scribe carelessly repeated ET and blundered on for two letters more; he then cancelled the four offending letters by means of transverse strokes, and followed them by *MODSTVS*: the reading then would be *Agathopus et Prima et* (four deleted letters) *Mod(estus tres conuenientes*.

A woman's name, too, is found in the second of these two compromising *graffiti*: *Musice* is not common, but there are sufficient other instances (in -a or -e) given in De-Vit's *Onomasticon s.v.* The name of her male companion is *Nicephorus*: the two letters NI at the beginning are clear at the present time. The transcription then should read *Nicephorus et Musice duo conuenientes*.

A. W. VAN BUREN.

Ὁ μέγας Πάν τέθνηκε.

THE story told by Plutarch in ch. 17 of his treatise *de defectu oraculorum* has from later misconstructions obtained considerable celebrity. S. Reinach's theory¹ that the cry heard off Paxos was 'Θαμoύς Θαμoύς Θαμoύς πάνμεγας τέθνηκε' is hardly possible; the Greek name of Thammuz was Ἀδωνis. A. B. Cook's ingenious hypothesis² that Zan was really meant also misses the mark; Zan is not likely to have been thought of as a δαίμων, and the story of his death is familiar and quite different.³ G. A. Gerhard's connexion of it with yearly-dying vegetation spirits and the origin of tragedy⁴ will hardly win much support.

Gerhard begs the question in saying that the good faith of Plutarch's authority Epitherses is not to be doubted.⁵ The circumstantial char-

acter of the story proves nothing. In the next chapter Demetrius says that he saw things even more wonderful in Britain; earlier in the work we read astonishing statements which purport to be the scientific observations of the philosopher Ammonius.⁶ In Lucian's *Philopseudes* we find a number of men who would, like Epitherses, be called οὐκ ἀφρονας οὐδ' ἀλαζόνες, telling impossible stories in quite a circumstantial manner. I need not refer to the detailed inventiveness shown by Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius*, or to the fantastic embroidery of signs and wonders added to the proceedings between Alexandrian Greeks and Jews in the so-called Alexandrine 'Martyr-akten'.⁷

The motif of the story itself, as Mannhardt saw fifty years ago,⁸ is one of very common occurrence in various lands; beside the German story of the cry announcing Salome's death, and followed by loud wailing of many voices,⁹ may be set the Arabian story of the cry 'The great king of the Jinn is dead,'¹⁰ and there are other parallels. Plutarch, or more probably some source of Plutarch's, used this old motif¹¹ as the kernel of his tale. He localised the incident on the route from Greece to Italy, but in an obscure spot, and made the person who was addressed an Egyptian sailor with an Egyptian name.¹² The sailor answered, it will be observed, on the third cry: I need not enlarge on the frequency with which the number three occurs in religious and magical connexions.¹³ Tiberius was a particularly appropriate Caesar to bring into the story, in view of his mythological interests.¹⁴ A similar story in which he occurs is that of the man who invented malleable glass and was put to death lest his discovery should destroy the value of the precious metals.¹⁵ Tiberius was clearly a figure around whom such tales would gather. In any case, the time of the incident was not defined with precision within the limits of his reign: ποτὲ πλείων εἰς Ἰταλίαν, says Epitherses. As for ὁ μέγας Πάν, the force of the epithet is probably to denote the great Pan as opposed to the herd of Πάνες καὶ Σάτυροι; here again Mannhardt was, I think, right. The god meant is certainly not the cosmic deity which Orphic and Neoplatonic speculation produced by ety-

⁶ Ch. iv. ⁷ As *P. Oxy.* 1242, 41—.

⁸ *Wald- und Feldkulte*, ii., pp. 134, 148.

⁹ *Ib.*, p. 147.

¹⁰ J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, p. 8; cf. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, p. 35, *Wien. Stud.*, xxxviii., p. 371.

¹¹ We need not imagine he used any literary development of it, as Gruppe seems to think (*Bursians Jahresbericht*, lxxxv., p. 274).

¹² For Θαμoύς we can quote Plato, *Phaedrus*, 274, D.E., Polyæn. *Strateg.* iii. 11. 5: Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (1922), p. 127, gives instances of Θαμoύς, Θαμoύς, and the like.

¹³ Cf. W. H. Roscher, *Fleck. Jahrb.* xxxviii. (1892), p. 476.

¹⁴ Reinach, *Cultes*, iii., p. 11. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 134, quoting Plin. *n.h.* ix. 9.

¹⁵ Dio lvii. 21; Petron. *sat.* 51; Plin. *n.h.* 36, 66, 195 (sceptical).

¹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xxxi. (1907), p. 5— = *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, III., p. 1—.

² *Zeus*, ii., p. 347—I must here express my warmest thanks to Mr. Cook for giving me proof-sheets.

³ *Anthol. pal.* vii. 746, cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, ii., p. 345.

⁴ 'Der Tod des grossen Pan' in *Sitz. ber. Heidelb.*, 1915, v., p. 50.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 7.

mological means,¹ and he can hardly be the Egyptian Chem identified with Pan,² although the fact that this so-called Pan was styled μέγιστος³ may have given a special appropriateness to the choice of an Egyptian to receive the message.

I would suggest in closing that the author of the story may have constructed it with an eye on the story of Philippiades: 'ἀπάγγελον ὅτι Πάν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε' suggests 'κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι διότι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται.'⁴

A. D. NOCK.

CLEON AND THE ASSEMBLY.

EVERYONE knows Plutarch's story, told briefly in *praec. ger. reip.* 3, and more fully in *Nicias* 7. λέγεται γάρ, ἐκκλησίας ποτὲ οὐσης, τὸν μὲν δῆμον καθήμενον ἄνω περιμένειν πολὺν χρόνον, ὅψε δ' εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς αὐρίον. 'Ἀσχολοῦμαι γάρ, ἔφη, σήμερον, ἐστὶν μὲλλον ξένους καὶ τεθνηκὸς τοῖς θεοῖς. τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους γελᾶσαντας ἀναστήναι καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. It is a tall story, but it seems to have passed muster; it finds a place in Kahrstedt's recent article 'Kleon' in *Pauly-Wissowa*. But visualise the scene! The patient Assembly, the unconscionable wait, the wreathed Cleon; his words are a song, and Plutarch has not spoil the metre.

ἐστὶν μὲλλον ξένους
καὶ τεθνηκὸς τοῖς <ιν?> θεοῖς
ἀσχολοῦμαι σήμερον.

We know this person. He is drunk, and two girls support him. He is Dicaeopolis, Trygaeus, Pisthetaerus—the triumphant hero in the closing scenes of an Aristophanic comedy. Did the poet (Aristophanes or another) leave him to enjoy an ironically exaggerated triumph? Or did a final peripety kick him into the wings? We can only guess; but we have won another glimpse into the methods of ancient biography.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

HERODOTOS AND WESTERMARCK.

HERODOTOS tells us (IV. 189) that the *ololyge* was characteristic of Libyan women; δοκέει δ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἡ ὀλολυγὴ ἐν ἱοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα γὰρ ταύτη χρέωνται αἱ Λίβυσσαι, καὶ χρέωνται καλῶς. As his nomad Libyans are presumably the ancestors of the modern Berbers, it is noteworthy that the latter, and also their Arab neighbours, are in the habit of making a peculiar sound called in Arabic *zgārīt* and in Berber *tagürit*, mentioned by Westermarck many times in his valuable work,

Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, as occurring at various stages in the ceremonies of betrothal and at the wedding itself. He quotes (p. 22 n. 2) the following description from Dr. Jansen:

'(The sound is) durch äusserst schnelle, horizontale oder seitliche Bewegung der Zungenspitze zwischen den Lippenwinkeln hervorgebracht . . . wobei ein schriller Trillerlaut entsteht, der fast wie ein hundertmal äusserst schnell wiederholtes "lü" klingt . . . (etwa in der Tonhöhe des zweigestrichenen f . . .), ungefähr $\frac{1}{2}$ bis $\frac{3}{4}$ Minute (solange der Atem vorhält) dauert und plötzlich mit einem sehr kurzen, sich wie ". . . it" anhörenden Abschnapp-Laute zum dreigestrichenen c . . . hinauf-schnellend schliesst.'

The attempts to restrict the *ololyge* to this or that particular rite, or to make it expressive of joy (or sorrow) only are, it is to be hoped, at an end, after Eitrem's careful review of all the evidence, *Beiträge zur gr. Religionsgeschichte*, III., p. 44 ff. It is a ritual cry denoting excitement and high tension, and no doubt felt to be very efficacious in scaring away evil influences and arousing good ones. As the form of the words ὀλολυγὴ and ἀλελίω show, it was made by holding the mouth in the position for a close vowel, back or front (o or e), and moving the tongue rapidly to and from the position of l; concluding with an abrupt rise of pitch, shown by the acute accent, and an occlusive which sounded something like g. The only difference between this and the modern account is that the later evidence gives a still closer vowel, ü, and makes the occlusive dental (t) instead of palatal (g). The latter was not a constant feature to the Greek ear; the cognate ἀλελεῦ has no occlusive at all.⁵

H. J. ROSE.

A NOTEWORTHY SURVIVAL.

IN describing the effects of the heavenly bodies upon terrestrial life Cicero (*de Div.* 2, 33) remarks: *et muscutorum iecuscula bruma dicuntur augeri, et puleium aridum florescere brumali ipso die*, etc. The habit here ascribed to pennyroyal (*Mentha pulegium* L.) is also attested by other ancient writers, e.g. [Arist.] *Probl.* 20, 21, p. 925a, 19 ff.: διὰ τί γλήχων . . . ὑπὸ τὰς τροπὰς ἀνθεῖ; Plin. *N.H.* 2, 108: *floret ipso brumali die suspensa in tectis arenis herba pulei* (cf. 18, 227; 19, 160): Lyd. *de Ost.* p. 13 Wachsm.: ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος γλήχων ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν <τοῦ ἡλίου> θάλλει τροπῇν.

The purpose of the present note is to call attention to a remarkable survival of this belief Folkard, *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* (1884),

¹ On whom cf. W. H. Roscher, *Festschrift Overbeck*, p. 56.

² As W. H. Roscher, *Fleck. Jahrb.*, xxxviii. (1892), p. 465.

³ Cf. B. Müller, *Diss. phil. Hal.* XXI., iii., p. 349, for the evidence.

⁴ Hdt. vi. 105; cf. Pausan. i. 28. 4, 'οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τετίμηται.'

⁵ ἀλαλαί with its broader vowel is a cry of quite different character, made with the mouth wide open; more of a man's cheer and less of a woman's shriek. The man with the sistrum on the H. Triada processional vase (latest discussion, M. Hammarström in *Acta Acad. Aboensis Humaniora* III., 1922, No. 2) may be raising this cry, certainly not an ὀλολυγὴ, for his mouth is wide open.

492 (with no apparent acquaintance with any of the ancient passages), states: 'In Sicily children put pennyroyal in their cots on Christmas Day, under the belief that at the exact hour and minute when the infant Jesus was born this plant puts forth its blossom. The same wonder is repeated on Midsummer Night.'

It would appear, then, that the Christmas custom has been, in popular usage, substituted for one belonging to the winter solstice (25 December, according to the Julian calendar; cf. Plin. *N.H.* 18, 221; Häbler in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Bruma* (1897); Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 303-305, for the transference of the birth of Christ to the winter solstice, the natal day of *Sol Invictus*), and the reference of Folkard to the same belief in connexion with Midsummer Night makes this yet more certain.¹

All these ideas perhaps owe their origin to a feeling that the return (rebirth) of the sun at the winter solstice is the signal for a revival of vegetation, and that the first sympathetic responses to the sun's waxing powers may come from plants characterised by exceptionally keen, volatile (and sensitive?) qualities. Be this as it may, the persistence of the belief in the case of pennyroyal is at least worthy of remark.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE.

AESCHYLUS, *SEPTEM C. THEBAS*, 101-102.

πέπλων καὶ στεφάνων πότ' εἰ μὴ νῦν ἀμφὶ λιλάν' ἔχομεν;

ἀμφὶ λιλάν' Seidler: ἀμφίλιταν M: ἀμφὶ λιλάν, m.

THIS is taken to mean (and with the active ἔχομεν it could mean nothing else) that the chorus propose to place around the images of the gods mentioned in ll. 95, 97, 'objects used in prayer, consisting of robes and garlands.' The adjective λιλάνος, substituted for λιλάν for metrical reasons, is quoted only from Aeschylus, *Supplikes* 809 (μέλη λιλανά); the meaning given to it here is surely a counsel of despair. The form εὐκαίος could no doubt be used in this way (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 631), but that was because εὐχή had acquired a concrete sense; a votive altar was sometimes dedicated κατ' εὐχήν, sometimes it was itself an εὐχή. I can find no trace of such a use of λιλάν. In any case, the absence of the dative of βρέτη or βωμοί is a fatal objection to Seidler's view.

The accent of ἀμφίλιταν in M preserves a trace of the original reading ἀμφιδύτ' ἀνέξομεν. For displaying objects in prayer,

¹ Certain Moroccan customs connecting pennyroyal with the summer solstice are noted by Westermarck in *Folk-Lore*, 16 (1905), 34-35. Further, compare the belief described by Tille (*Yule and Christmas*, 1899, 170-176), that on the night before Christmas the trees of the forest bud and blossom forth; and for the sympathetic effects of the solstices in general see Stempelinger *Sympathieglauhe u. Sympathiekuren in Altertum u. Neuzeit* (1919), 11.

ἀνέχειν (see L. and S.) was the regular term; and ἀμφιδύτος, not quoted in the *Lexica*, follows as naturally from ἀμφιδύω as ἐνδύτος from ἐνδύω and suits the στεφάνη at least as well as ἐνδύτος in Eur. *Troad.* 258.

Two good authorities, Professors Rose and Nilsson, tell me that they know no reference to any special costume worn by suppliants, or to any emblem except the κλάδοι (for which see Jebb on *Oed. Tyr.* 3). The reference therefore cannot be to robes and garlands worn by the suppliants, but to robes and garlands which they are carrying (or propose to fetch) to offer to the gods, like the πέπλος offered by Hecabe to Athena in the *Iliad*. Accordingly, ἀμφιδύτω refers to the purpose of the gift, the decking of the images of the gods. We thus arrive at a meaning similar to that suggested by Seidler, but by a legitimate route. 'When, if not now, shall we lift up robes and garlands to deck the gods withal?' W. M. CALDER.

THE PROBABLE ERROR OF A WATER-CLOCK.

I CONTRIBUTED an article under this title, based on a paper by Miss Longbottom and myself in *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, LXXV. (1915), 377-94, to the *Classical Review* for December, 1915 (XXIX., 236-8). In that article the probable error of a water-clock was discussed in the light of seven ancient observations of the moon. Last year Herr Schoch of Heidelberg, now of Berlin, kindly drew my attention to an arithmetical error in our work, and I have contributed a paper containing the necessary corrections to *Monthly Notices*, LXXXIII. (1923), 370-3.

I now find that the observations accord best on the supposition that the time of each observation was compared with sunset. On this assumption the 'probable' error of the clock works out at 7.6 minutes per hour, but it will be observed that the actual rate of error varies considerably from the probable rate. In the following table the recorded time of each observation is compared with the actual time, the change in the moon's rate of motion being for the present purpose determined from these observations only.

Recorded Interval from Sunset.		Actual Interval from Sunset.		Error of Clock.	Rate of Error per Clock-Hour.
h.	m.	h.	m.	m.	m.
2	14	2	49	+35	+15.8
2	37	1	38	-59	-22.5
3	11	2	59	-12	-3.8
10	26	12	3	+1h. 36	+9.2
10	26	10	0	-26	-2.5
13	8	13	42	+34	+2.6
13	12	12	33	-39	-3.0

Corrections to the motion of the moon obtained independently of these observations suggest that the actual intervals from sunset should be diminished by eleven or twelve minutes in each case and the errors corrected accordingly.

In view of the extensive use of water-clocks in antiquity, it is hoped that this study will give some idea of the errors to which such clocks were liable.
J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

NOTE ON LIVY, 42, 35, 2.]

'Ceteri centuriones praemissa appellatione ad dilectum oboedienter responderunt.' A very old corruption appears in the MS. *prae-missa*, which is meaningless in the context. Kreyssig's correction *remissa* (Vahlen, *Ephem. Austr.* 1861, p. 255, cited by Zingerle *ad loc.*) has found general acceptance. This seems to

be an interesting case of the error discussed by Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 333, sect. 419: 'The ancient Nota for 'ter' (word or syllable) was *t*, with a stroke through the shaft of the letter (like *p* with stroke through the shaft for 'per'). It must have been easy to mistake this for an obliterated *t*, a *t* which had been written by error and was struck out by the scribe or by a corrector. It is not surprising to find that the ancient Nota has been generally replaced in medieval MSS. by a less dangerous symbol, *t* with suprascript stroke.' Read *praetermissa appellatione*.

H. W. LITCHFIELD.

Cambridge, Mass.

REVIEWS

SOME TRANSLATIONS.¹

IF any further proof were necessary to show the futility of those philosophers who deduce human action from some easily intelligible motive, such as desire for personal advantage, such proof would be supplied by the existence and multiplication of translations of Greek and Latin poetry. The general public seldom reads them; they are never among the best sellers. The learned usually disparage them for their frivolity. Why, then, do such translations continue to be published? Obviously, because they are a good ἀπλῶς, in themselves, apart from their accidents. A translation, like a virtuous action, is its own reward. The present season shows no diminution of the usual output. Horace continues to attract. The Greek Anthology challenges skill and enterprise, like Mount Everest. Greek tragedy is to be seen on the stage, and obviously the public mind must acquire some idea of what it is about; and the *doyen* of modern metrical translators, Dr. Way, now adds Pindar to the catalogue of his triumphs.

Undoubtedly the Epinician odes

are the hardest nut which even Dr. Way has ever set himself to crack. Apart from the mere difficulty of unravelling the meaning of the Greek, how are the bold dithyrambs of Pindar to be confined within the limits of such metrical systems as an English ear (except that of the minority which professes to be satisfied with *vers libre*) inevitably demands? Dr. Way does so confine Pindar; and no doubt he is right. There is no equally effective method: 'in our simpler lyrical forms,' Mr. Trevelyan says, in the introduction to his *Oresteia*, 'the structure is generally delineated and emphasised by rhyme, rather than by complicated variations and changes of internal rhythm.' In the circumstances allowance must be made for necessary limitations. The emotions of a reader of Pindar—it is laid down by Mr. John Addington Symonds—should be those of him who while reading can fancy himself 'playing such a motette on Mozart's *Splendente te Deus* in the chapel of Mont St. Michel, which is built like a lighthouse on a rock, at the bottom of which the sea is churning in a tempest.' Can Pindar, reduced to English metrical form and order, produce this mental elevation? Can he still 'combine the strong flight of the eagle, the irresistible force of the torrent, the richness of Greek wine, the majestic pageantry of Nature in one of her sublimer moods?' Be that as it may, Dr. Way is to be congratulated on a

¹ *The Odes of Pindar in English Verse*, by A. S. Way; *The Reed of Pan*, by A. C. Benson; *Amaranth and Asphodel*, by A. J. Butler; *A Fardel of Epigrams*, by F. P. Barnard; *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*, translated by J. T. Sheppard; *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, translated by R. C. Trevelyan; *The Odes of Horace*, Englished by W. H. Mills; Stevenson, R. L.: *A Child's Garden of Verses*, done into Latin by T. R. Glover.

skilful and altogether notable achievement.

The game of translating the Greek Anthology is always popular, partly because it involves not so much continuity of effort as a series of separate enterprises; you can take an epigram out for a walk and do it in your head, and there it is, *teres atque rotundus*, a thing finished. But the sport is one of great difficulty; all the more, of course, because translators naturally choose the best and the best-known epigrams, where the difference of effect attainable by the Greek and the English lyric respectively is most clearly presented. The Greek language can attain the highest lyrical effect by a simple directness with which English is seldom quite satisfied. If you add something for an English ear, you may miss the conciseness which Greek can combine with beauty; if you do not add something, you miss the beauty which Greek can combine with conciseness. Here are two volumes, which by their diverse excellences themselves illustrate the translator's difficulty. It would be impossible to find two scholars better equipped for their task, whether by intimate knowledge of Greek or by impeccability of taste and judgment, than the authors of *The Read. of Pan* and *Amaranth and Asphodel*. Modern readers are fortunate in having presented to them simultaneously two volumes so charming in every respect, and so worthy to represent the scholarship and culture of Oxford and Cambridge. To say that, where they can be directly compared, Dr. Butler is on the whole the closer to the Greek, and Mr. Benson is the more fluent—this is to draw no odious comparison; it merely emphasises the distinctive merit of each. Both are brilliantly successful; the thing, probably, could not be done better. And more clearly than ever after this crucial experiment the plain fact emerges, that Greek is one thing and English is another; also, that the equivalent of the Greek elegiac has still to be found. Mr. Barnard's pleasant collection of versions, which he calls a 'Fardel of Epigrams,' is less ambitious while more catholic. His originals are for the most part the work of 'the

undeservedly neglected Neo-Latin and French epigrammatists of the late fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.' Most of them are more notable for point than for high poetical beauty; and the point can be well reproduced in English. Mr. Barnard deserves thanks for rescuing much that was in danger of being forgotten.

Perhaps the most complete and satisfying success can be obtained by versions of Greek tragedy, at least of the dialogue. Both Mr. Sheppard and Mr. R. C. Trevelyan maintain the best traditions of Cambridge scholarship. Both are effective in the dialogue. Mr. Trevelyan, writing obviously with an eye to dramatic representation (indeed, his *Oresteia* is the completion of what began as the acting version of the trilogy in 1921), is the more ingenious in the lyrical part, in so far as his choruses, while very literal, are metrically equivalent to the Greek; while the choric passages of Mr. Sheppard's *Oedipus Tyrannus* are simply in *vers libre*, more or less rhythmical, but unrhymed and not aiming at metrical correspondence with the Greek.

No batch of translations can ever be complete without its Horace; and here are the Odes again, done into English verse by Mr. William Hathorn Mills. Well, and why not? If a gentleman can rhyme, and scan, and translate Latin without making mistakes, there is no valid reason against his rendering the *Odes* of Horace into verse if he pleases. There are a thousand less creditable occupations.

Concerning translations from the classical languages into English, let so much have been said. The Public Orator of the University of Cambridge is an exponent of the reverse process; and perhaps he is really the most enterprising of all, for he translates Stevenson's *Child's Garden of Verses* into a number of Latin metres. This is a real *tour de force*. Most of the *Child's Garden* is playful; and even if we had the appropriate Latin vocabulary, which unfortunately we have not, very few Latin metres have playful associations; least of all, the much-enduring elegiac. Hendecasyllables are better adapted

to this vein; and Mr. Glover employs them pretty often. Anyhow, the Public Orator shows great ingenuity and

finished scholarship, and a most enviable command of Latin metres.

A. D. GODLEY.

HALLIDAY'S 'CITY STATE.'

The Growth of the City State: Lectures on Greek and Roman History. First Series. By W. R. HALLIDAY, M.A., B.Litt., Rathbone Professor of Ancient History in the University of Liverpool. 8vo. Pp. 264. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool, Ltd.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1923. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS useful and suggestive volume is part of a series entitled *The Ancient World*, of which Professor Peet's *Egypt and the Old Testament* is probably the best-known instalment. Professor Halliday's frank preface, explaining how he came to write it, almost disarms criticism, and is at the same time an interesting glimpse of the difficulties of historical teaching in the newer Universities. For obvious reasons, traditional presentations have to be recast, perspective has to be deeper, incidental discussion rarer; aspects of the same period have to be treated separately, as political and economic questions are treated here; less may be taken for granted, yet the limits of discussion are stricter. What remains must be standard material, yet the personal outlook of the teacher nowhere counts for more. An introduction to ancient history, under these conditions, must be at the same time a challenge to independent work: as Professor Halliday puts it, 'a reader who fails to find something with which to disagree will probably have wasted his time.'

The contents, then, of this 'first series' of chapters on the ancient city states fall into three sections: discussions of the main aspects of the physical environment in which these states originated and matured; outlines of what might be called the normal life-history of such a state, and of the special deviations from it which characterise the political history of Athens and Rome, from their beginnings to their maturity; and sketches of the principal economic problem—namely,

the land question—with which these two states in particular were confronted so persistently, and of the actual living conditions of their average inhabitants. In the last department, it should be noted, we miss the 'new Gallus'—shall we call him Caesar or Clodius?—who might have been the counterpart of Professor Halliday's *Pheidippides*. But perhaps there are only eight lecture periods at Liverpool, as in more ancient Universities.

Into modest compass (with adequate notes after each chapter, and an excellent index) are here packed more sound doctrine, and 'humanity' in the best sense, than in any recent book of the kind. One might 'disagree,' as we are invited to do, with details of presentation; phrases about the 'Balkan Range' in Aegean geography; about Crete shutting in the 'bottom' of the Aegean. Did Chalcis and Eretria 'bleed each other to death in the Lelantine War'? Does the commercial development of 'quay-side' Syra (Professor Halliday's own instance) follow or precede the bombardment of Alexandria, with which he connects it? Were there no Etruscans in Italy before the eighth century? Was *Dike* originally either 'rightness' or 'equity'; or rather just a *formula* in the Roman legal sense, from which the commonsense of all might discern where the 'right' lay? In the matter of Greek and Roman personal names (p. 142), what Herodotus was concerned to learn about Isagoras was not his *genos*, but whether that *genos* was 'earthborn' or 'Neleid from Pylos' or of northerly origin like the Gephyraeans. Were there no hereditary *Patres*, as well as *Conscripti*, in the regal Senate? Was the censorial *lustrum* a numbering 'followed by a solemn purification' (p. 147) and not itself the 'purification,' in the sense that unseemly citizens were degraded or cast out?

But these are small and perhaps con-

troversial griefs. So scholarly and readable a book, it may be hoped, will reach the reprint which it deserves, and

justify the preparation of the 'second series' on lines so serviceable and so well planned.

J. L. MYRES.

HENDERSON'S *HADRIAN*.

The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 76-138. By BERNARD W. HENDERSON, M.A., D.Litt. Pp. xi+304, 8 plates. London: Methuen, 1923. 15s.

THE important place in the history of the Roman Empire occupied by the Principate of Hadrian makes the appearance of the first detailed account of it by an English scholar an event of considerable interest. But the importance of the period is equalled by the difficulties which must be faced in treating of it. The perfect historian of Hadrian must be archaeologist, numismatist, epigraphist, textual critic, literary scholar, and historical lawyer; and the nature of the sources he will employ are such that finality is beyond the reach even of one so equipped. The personality of the Emperor must always remain a problem to which no more than a subjective solution is possible, and our knowledge of the details of his administration, though it may be expected gradually to increase, can never approach completeness.

For the treatment of this second part of his task Dr. Henderson is imperfectly equipped. He suggests in the Preface the difficulties under which he laboured—the long interruption caused by the War, the ill-health which followed it, and the distractions of an Oxford tutor's life. But if these troubles explain the defects, it must still be admitted that in some parts of the book they are serious. We are provided with copious footnotes, bibliographies, appendices, which suggest that the work is not a popular sketch but a serious contribution to history, and it must be said outright that the more recent authorities have not been sufficiently consulted, nor the bibliographies brought up to date. In two cases, Hadrian's arrival in Rome in 118 and the end of his first great tour, the chronology is vitiated by the neglect to consider inscriptions published in 1902

and 1905. In his discussion of the African inscriptions which give us information concerning Hadrian's agrarian policy, Bruns' *Fontes* is quoted in the sixth instead of the seventh edition, two articles dealing with the Ain Djemala inscription are referred to that of Ain Wassel, no reference at all is given for the text of the former, nor to Rostowzew's most important discussion of the whole matter (*Studien zur Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, pp. 313-409). Dr. Henderson denies the possibility of discovering the details of Hadrian's work in Upper Germany, relying on Essays of Pelham (1905) and Kornemann (1907), and omitting to notice the important work since carried out by the *Limes* Commission and summarised in its sixth and tenth *Berichte*. The proof-reading, too, leaves something to be desired. On p. 24 a conjecture is based on the statement that Plotina died in 128; on p. 44 the date is given (correctly) as 122. We twice find the title of Hadrian's law given as 'de ruderibus agris' (instead of 'rudibus'), and on p. 112 Lobeck is credited with the writing of a work entitled *Aglaophonos*.

It is pleasanter to turn to the undoubted merits of the book. Assisted by Mr. Collingwood, Dr. Henderson gives an excellent, if rather sanguine, account of the present state of our knowledge concerning 'Hadrian's Wall.' His discussion of Hadrian's Legal Reforms is clear and comprehensive, and will prove most useful to students not expert in Roman Law. In contrast with his handling of archaeological material, his treatment of the literary evidence is almost always judicious and sensible, and we are obliged to him for providing an almost complete translation of the *Sententiae* of Dositheus, a source not easily accessible, and though of slight historical value, curiously interesting and, as he remarks, an agreeable addition (and contrast) to our other information. He has succeeded in giving

a picture of the personality of Hadrian which, although it may provoke dissent in some details, is self-consistent, and in the main plausible.

When, however, he says 'religion was not one of Hadrian's hobbies' we must be allowed to differ from him. In spite of Spartianus' statement 'sacra peregrina contempsit,' it is hard to believe that the numberless towns in the East which hailed the Emperor as the Olympian, or the New Dionysus, or the New Heracles, thought him wholly indifferent; or that the Emperor who took special pains to be completely initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, who consolidated into one the guilds of Dionysiac artists, who founded a cult and an oracle for his minion, took no interest at least in ritual. And the Tribe and Deme names of his new foundation of Antinoe (to which, unfortunately, Dr. Henderson makes no reference) show his desire that the whole official worship of the new πόλις should centre round the Imperial House. But Dr. Henderson is no doubt right when he points out that Hadrian was certainly not religious in

the sense that Marcus was a philosopher—in a word, religion was a hobby, not the ruling interest of his life.

Dr. Henderson has a high opinion of the poetic merit of the *Animula vagula blandula*, of which he gives two versions of his own as well as several other translations and adaptations. His first may be set down side by side with what is perhaps still the most successful version—that of the late Principal of Aberdeen University, Sir W. D. Geddes:

Little tender wand'ring soul,
Body's guest and comrade thou,
To what bourne, all bare and pale,
Will thou be a'faring now?
All the merry jest and play
Thou so lovest put away.

B. H.

Wee wan'ering, winsome elf, my saul,
Thou's made this clay lang hoose and hall,
But whar, O whar, art now to dwell,
Thy bield now bare?
Gaun' flichterin', feckless, shiverin', caul'
Nae cantrips mair.

W. D. G.

The translation of the last line is the real test.

D. ATKINSON.

BOAK'S HISTORY OF ROME.

A History of Rome to 565 A.D. By ARTHUR E. R. BOAK, Ph.D. Pp. 444. Macmillan, 1922.

MR. BOAK's book is 'primarily intended to meet the needs of introductory college courses in Roman History; but it is hoped that it may also prove of service as a handbook for students of Roman life and literature in general.' The difficulties of thus treating the subject within the compass of a little more than four hundred pages are obvious. The writer must avoid two dangers, that of dealing in detail with some favoured periods to the exclusion of others, as well as that of compiling a monotonous series of facts and dates from which the reader will fail to trace the causal relation of events or gain any idea of the social and material conditions which form their background. Mr. Boak has in the main avoided both with considerable success. His account of the early history of Rome and the conquest

of Italy gives a clear account both of the development of Roman government and society and of the external organisation by which the conquest was rendered possible and its effects permanent. In this section the sketch of the relations between Rome and the various political units subjected to her may be specially commended: it might well have been extended by the omission of the paragraphs, too brief to be of much value, which deal with the early pre-history of Italy. In the later history of the Republic Mr. Boak was perhaps a little embarrassed by the greater extent and variety of the material to be compressed into 140 pages. Mere narrative of events occupies an undue proportion of the space, and the treatment of incidents seems conditioned rather by the extent of our information about them than by their intrinsic importance. Thus the conspiracy of Catiline receives a whole page, while

Cicero's attempted 'Concordia Ordinum' is not mentioned at all.

But Mr. Boak's previous writings make us turn with especial interest to the chapters on the Early and Later Empire. Here clearly the problem of arrangement becomes still more acute. The plan adopted is to divide the six centuries treated into three periods—(a) to Diocletian, (b) thence to Theodosius, and (c) from 395 to the death of Justinian. For each period he devotes a chapter each to the political history, to the public administration, and to religion and society. In each case the first section could with advantage have been spared. As it is, as much space is here devoted to Caligula as to Claudius, and it may be doubted whether even a short paragraph on a Macrinus or an Elagabalus is worth the space it occupies. A chronological table of the reigns, serving as a framework for the events and developments of real importance, would have set free valuable space for a more adequate description of these.

But even thus limited, Mr. Boak has made good use of modern researches to make a most useful summary. The development of the Civil Service, the growth of a centralised bureaucracy, the gradual weakening under its malign influence of municipal activities, the progressive crushing of all forms of social organisation into a system for the collection of an increasingly oppressive taxation, are admirably sketched. Equally good and clear is his account

of the Colonnade. It is plainly in this field that Mr. Boak's chief interests lie, and consequently it is here that the most recent special studies are best utilised. His account of the development of the provinces and their defences, though adequate, is not so firmly based. Here the latest results are not quite always employed. On p. 275, for example, the theory of a Hadrianic turf wall in North Britain, rebuilt in stone by Severus, is stated as a fact, though it was disproved in 1911; and the attribution to Domitian of the 'limes' across the Odenwald is at least open to question. But these are points of detail; in general the work may safely be recommended to the increasing body of students whose chief interest in Roman history begins (instead of ending) with Augustus. For these its value is much increased by a carefully compiled and classified bibliography.

But it is time that a protest was made against the lack of completeness with which publishers do their work. There was perhaps an excuse for leaving uncut the edges of unbound books in the days before the price of binding became prohibitive, but it is a scandal that a well bound and not inexpensive volume should be left to the purchaser to be cut not only at the top but at the bottom also, leaving rough edges to collect a coating of dust which nothing can remove. Historical students at least are less interested in 'tall copies' than in cleanliness and convenience.

D. ATKINSON.

PLATNAUER'S *CLAUDIAN*.

Claudian. With an English translation by MAURICE PLATNAUER. Two vols. Pp. xxvi+393; v+413. London: William Heinemann (Loeb Classical Library), 1922. £1.

ON more than one ground Mr. Platnauer's *Claudian* claims our attention. For the first time in this country a text has been produced, which rests on real foundations, of the works of a writer of whom Gibbon could say that 'Claudian is read with pleasure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the knowledge of the Latin tongue.' These

are the foundations laid by Th. Birt in his edition of 1892 in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (reviewed at length in C.R. IX. 162-168), which was also the basis of the Teubner text of J. Koch. The previous text was that which, left unfinished by Richard Heber, the famous bibliophile, was brought out in 1836 after his death by H. D.—that is, Henry Drury, the compiler of the Cambridge Classical Anthology *Arun-dines Cami*. For the last thirty years Claudian has been all but entirely neglected. And Mr. Platnauer's text

differs inconsiderably from Birt's. Where it does, the change is generally an improvement. Again, in Mr. Platnauer's translation Claudian is for the first time Englished in prose. His predecessors, who have either rendered portions only (A. Cowley's *Old Man of Verona* is probably the best known of these attempts), or else (A. Hawkins, 1817) have failed completely, have chosen verse as the medium. From a purely literary point of view (Claudian is also an important source for the history of his times) this choice was sound. For our poet is one of those who lose incalculably if they are stripped of their verse. The Honourable H. Howard (1844) is as lax a translator as you will find, even at the present day. But to readers who depend on translations his version of the beginning of the Fescennine Song II.—

Age cuncta nuptiali
redimita uere tellus
celebra toros eriles;
 omne nemus cum fluuiis,
 omne canat profundum.

Ligures fauete campi,
Veneti fauete montes,
subitisque se rosetis
 uestiat Alpinus apex,
 et rubeant pruinæ.

'Let earth be drest in her gaudy vest,
Her nuptial robe of spring.
Let every wood and every flood
And the depths of ocean sing.

'Liguria's vale our bridal hail,
Venetian hills be glad,
And red be the snow on yon Alpine brow,
With sudden roses clad.'

will say more than this prose rendering:

'Come, earth, wreathed about with nuptial spring, do honour to thy master's feast. Sing, woods and rivers all, sing, deep of ocean. Give your blessing, too, Ligurian plains and yours, Venetian hills. Let Alpine heights on a sudden clothe themselves with rose-bushes, and the fields of ice grow red.'

This being granted, Mr. Platnauer's translation has to be judged, not as an adequate reproduction of the original, but as a means and aid towards its comprehension and appreciation. The Loeb Classical Library is a collection of unquestioned utility. But its translators, like others, are not always masters of their craft, of whose difficulty

and responsibilities they have not so very seldom but a dim perception. We find them, then, substituting explanation for translation, expatiating in paraphrase, seeking relief from baldness in inappropriate ornament. These weaknesses are not inconspicuous in Mr. Platnauer's *Claudian*. The verse of the 'prægloriosissimus poeta,' as the inscription under his statue called him, is equable in its terseness, polish, and distinction. Whether his last translator can be trusted to convey a sense of this to readers a few extracts may show. I leave them without comment and with but a few italics.

Panegyric on Probinus and Olybrius, 109:

semirutæ turres auulsæque moenia fumant.

'The smoke of towers *o'erthrown* and *ruined* fortresses ascends to heaven.'

Ib. 237 ff.:

quid protulit æquum
falsus olor, ualido quamuis discernere caestu
nouerit et ratibus sæuas arcere procellas?

'Did that false swan beget a child to rival them, though 'tis true his sons could fight with the heavy glove and save ships from cruel tempests?'

Against Rufinus, I. 146:

noui quo Thessala cantu
eripiat lunare iubar.

'I have learned the incantations wherewith Thessalian witches *pull down the bright moon*.'

Against Eutropius, I. 481:

en alio laedor grauiore Pothino
et patior maius Phario scelus.

'Behold I suffer from a worse than Pothinus and bear a wrong more flagrant than that of which Egypt was once the scene.'

Minor Poems, XXV. 70:

cunabula prima puellæ
Danuuius ueteresque Tomi.

'The bride first saw the light in the old city of Tomi by the mouth of the Danube.'

Contrast ib. 108:

ereptis obmutuit unda querellis (four Latin words).

'*Quiet* are those waters now that the birds' plaintive notes resound there no more.'

Rape of Proserpine, III. 99:

tantum | unica despicior? ['Thy only daughter and so much misprized!']

'Didst thou hold me so cheap *for that* I am thy sole daughter?'

ib. 115:

reuocat tandem custodia cari
pignoris et cunctis obiecti fraudibus anni.

'The duty of protecting my dear daughter calls me back after so long an absence; for she is of an age that is exposed to many dangers.'

A climax is reached in *Minor Poem*, VI.—
Rimanti telum ira facit [Verg. *Aen.* 7. 508]:

In iaculum, quodcumque gerit, dementia mutat.
omnibus armatur rabies. pro cuspide ferri
cuncta uolant, dum dextra ferox in uulnera
saeuit,
pro telo geritur quidquid suggesserit ira.

'Anger affords a weapon to him who seeks one.'

'Whate'er it carries, that rage converts into a weapon. Wrath supplies all with arms. When an angry man thirsts for blood, anything will serve him for a spear. Fury turns a stick into a cudgel.'

On isolated inaccuracies I have neither space nor wish to dwell. Some of them I hardly understand: *Panegyric of Probinus and Olybrius* 188, 'sword' for *tela* (of the arrows with which Apollo killed the Python) in

spite of the *praefatio* to *Rufinus* I.; *Rufinus* I. 210 f., *fulgentibus . . . toris*, 'glittering bedsteads'; *Stilicho* II. 215, *tenera—nare*, 'subtle scent.' In *ib.* 90, by a species of error, not uncommon in the Loeb Library, *redundantes* (Koch) is printed, but *remidentes* translated. This will not explain 'Danube' for 'Hebri' in the poem on the sixth consulship of Honorius, 108.

The studies of predecessors on his author have been diligently regarded by Mr. Platnauer. In the lack of a proper commentary on Claudian the two volumes, with their notes and introductions, will be a useful aid to our students, especially to such as care for him only as a source. And this increases our regret that in the translation the poet has been lowered to the level at which the critical estimate of the translator would place him. For 'even as a poet,' writes Mr. Platnauer (with Gibbon's judgment before him), 'Claudian is not always despicable.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

INSCRIPTIONS LATINES DE L'ALGÉRIE.

Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie. Tome premier: *Inscriptions de la Proconsulaire*. Recueillies et publiées par STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France. One vol. Folio. Pp. xvi+458. One map. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion (Edouard Champion), 1922. 200 frs.

THE Government of Algeria has undertaken a republication of the Latin inscriptions discovered within its boundaries, and the volume before us is the first instalment. Presumably the Government of Tunisia will follow suit, but no hint of this is given. The first volume contains the inscriptions (numbering over 4,000) of a triangular strip of eastern Algeria, that belonged, partly from the outset, partly from a later date, to Africa proconsularis. There are three volumes to follow, and it is hoped that the work will be completed in about ten years. The name of the editor is a guarantee of fine scholarship, both on the epigraphic and the historical side, and expectations are not disappointed.

For the Latin (often cumbrous Latin) of the *Corpus* French is substituted. This is intelligible enough from more than one point of view, and the substitution of a language so widely known does no disservice to the cause of international scholarship. The plan of the *Corpus* is in general followed. The format is the traditional folio. The choice may be regretted. Folios are very unwieldy, and a smaller page would have been quite feasible. We may also regret that, as a rule, printer's type has had to be used for the reproduction of the texts; but the editor explains that any other process would have been far too expensive, and he promises to consider, when the publication is completed, the possibility of issuing an album of selected texts photographed from the original or from impressions. The type is, however, varied enough to permit the reproduction of ligatures in all but very rare combinations. The editor has wisely adhered on the whole to the arrangement of inscriptions which the *Corpus* has made familiar, but he

departs from it in grouping all epitaphs together instead of taking out of the sepulchral series those relating to magistrates, officials, and soldiers. The new grouping is more logical, but we may doubt if it is more useful.

For inscriptions which appear in the *Corpus* the editor refrains from giving an individual bibliography, and contents himself with a general bibliography for each town or district, while making special reference to publications where the epigraphic text is reproduced by other than typographical means. Scholars will heartily approve his system of indicating the exact or approximate number of missing letters by pairs of oblique strokes, and also his decision to abbreviate the record of the various readings of copyists by omitting them (except where letters may have perished since) when he has himself revised the text, and in other cases by mentioning only such variants as cannot be absolutely set aside. Transcriptions, complete or partial, of the epigraphic texts, with explanation of abbreviations, are more liberally provided than in the Berlin publication (which is unduly sparing in this respect), regard being had to the probable needs of scholars who are not specialists in epigraphy, but whose work entails the use of Latin inscriptions. The editor has decided to index each volume, though he recognises that this will be a disadvantage when all four volumes are published. The practical epigraphist will regret the absence of an index of *notabilia varia*, which is a useful feature of the *Corpus*.

Professor Gsell has done his work admirably. For accuracy, conciseness,

lucidity, and sound judgment the volume is a model. In going through the four thousand odd texts which it contains I have found little to criticise. The commentaries are as brief as possible, giving as a rule only the explanations and references essential for the direct interpretation of the inscriptions. Occasionally, perhaps, they are a trifle too brief. An inscription like No. 1223, the epitaph of a *miles cohortis X urbanae, optio centuriae, signifer, fisci curator, optio ab actis urbi*, seems to require some comment beyond references to the similar career of a soldier of another urban cohort and to a *proc. Aug. ab actis urbis*. Another instance of over-compression is the description of Melitene as 'ville d'Arménie,' which is not applicable to the earlier centuries. We must confess also to a dislike of such transcriptions as 'eeqq(uitum) Rr(omanorum)' or 'dddd(ominorum) nnnn(ostorum).' But there is little that one would wish altered, and there are many interesting things to be found, in this excellent *Recueil*. Attention may be drawn to the view expressed on p. 286, based on de Pachtère's observations, that Theveste did not become the permanent quarters (*castra hiberna*) of the Third Legion till the later years of Vespasian; and to the commentary on No. 3950, dealing with the career of Sentius Caecilianus, boundary commissioner with Rutilius Gallicus in Africa and afterwards Legate of Numidia, about which wrong conclusions have been drawn in the past, and have been used in recent years to support a proposed solution of the problem of Quirinius' government of Syria.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

THE COINAGE OF THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Vol. I.: Augustus to Vitellius. By H. MATTINGLY, M.A. Pp. ccxxxi+464, 64 plates. London: British Museum and elsewhere, 1923. £3 3s.

EVERYTHING, it is said, comes to him that waits. The trouble is the waiting, but the patience of the student of the Roman Empire is at last rewarded by

the appearance of this first-rate account of the coinage from Augustus to Vitellius. The volume will whet his appetite, but he must resign himself to a further period of waiting. The catalogue includes descriptions (and even reproductions) of many important coins not represented in the Museum collection, and thus it forms a very complete work of reference. Mr. Mattingly's

descriptions have been collated with the originals by the Keeper of the Department, and the reader may rest assured of their accuracy. The catalogue is prefaced by a long Introduction dealing with every subject, technical and historical, raised by the coins. It is a most valuable and welcome piece of work. It falls naturally into two parts: (1) a general account of the Imperial coinage, its origin and development, the monetary system, the circulation of coins (a subject not yet worked out), the countermarks authorising the extension or continuance of the circulation, the types and legends in their general aspect, and so forth; and (2) a detailed study of the issues of each reign, attribution to different mints, and chronology (subjects much studied in recent years), style, and types. The value of the book is much enhanced by sixty-four excellent collotype plates and by those full indices that we expect in British Museum publications. The volume is indispensable to all serious students of the early Empire.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Mattingly for the care which he has devoted to the historical side of the subject. As objects of art, Roman coins do not bear comparison with Greek, though the portraiture — sometimes idealised and beautiful, oftener realistic — is not without appeal to the artist. But their historical testimony is of high importance. It bears out the evidence of the literary sources (no small gain), and recent research has produced some interesting confirmations of our modern conceptions of the policy of the Emperors. The way in which Augustus dealt with the coinage question furnishes one example more of his masterly diplomacy. His intention was to provide gold and silver currency for the Roman world without trenching brusquely on the Senate's right of minting. His method was to strike the money, not at Rome, but in his provinces, in accordance with the practice of *imperatores* since Sulla's time; and Lugdunum was finally established in 15 B.C. as the one imperial mint. The mint at Lugdunum thus assumes an importance which has not hitherto been realised. The Senatorial mint at Rome continued to issue

gold and silver in small quantities for seven years, but from 12 B.C. its issues were confined to *aes*, token money (brass and copper). The developments under Augustus' successors reflect exactly their character and policy. While the cautious Tiberius adhered in the main to the arrangements of Augustus, Caligula with his autocratic temperament transferred the mint to Rome, a change for which there was doubtless much to be said. In the early years of Nero the resuscitation of Senatorial influence finds its expression in the legend *Ex S. C.* stamped almost invariably on the gold and silver of the period. Later a branch of the Senatorial mint was actually opened at Lugdunum to provide small change for the West, but the control of Senatorial finance had already passed into the Emperor's hands.

The ephemeral developments in coinage which followed Nero's fall are clearly set forth by Mr. Mattingly. They strikingly illustrate, as he says, 'the importance of coinage in the Roman Empire for the purposes of propaganda.' But the interpretation of the propaganda is not always quite simple. Mr. Mattingly, for example, interprets the coin types and legends as showing that the revolt of Vindex aimed at the restoration of the Republic (pp. lxxiv, cxcvi) — a view which Mommsen maintained to the end. This is not proved by numismatic (or other) evidence any more than a similar aim is proved by the Spanish issues of Galba, about which we read that they clearly stamp the movement in Spain as 'patriotic, Republican, and liberal,' though we also find that Galba 'was only debarred by constitutional scruples from accepting the Imperial title.' Are we also to say that when the legions of Mainz revolted against Galba and swore allegiance to *S.P.Q.R.*, they were out for the restoration of the Republic? They were only showing that the lesson in constitutional procedure administered to them by Verginius Rufus was not wholly lost on them (*Tac. Hist. I. 12, 55*). Few, however, will doubt that Mr. Mattingly is right in attributing to the revolt of the Gauls in alliance with Civilis the very

rare aurei and denarii described on p. 308, including the striking denarius in Sir Arthur Evans' collection with legends 'Adsertor libertatis' and 'Legion. XV primigenia' (cp. p. cc f.).

Space permits us to refer only to one other point. Nero's reduction of the weight of the aureus and denarius and the debasement of the latter have generally been regarded as a depreciation of the currency. While recognising that Nero's action opened the way to terrible abuses, Mr. Mattingly regards the change as probably in itself a judicious readjustment, owing to a rise in the price of the precious metals, which made the coins worth more as metal than as currency. He will have none of the view of Soutzo, adopted by Dr. Henderson, that the purpose was to harmonise the Roman and Greek

coinages. The fact that this had been done long before made the view unacceptable from the start, and the observation that the Eastern issues were correspondingly reduced in weight gives the theory its quietus.

A word on a few minor matters. The printing of *as* and *asses* (both English words with very different meaning) in Roman type is irritating. 'Burrhus' and 'Rhaetia' are false spellings. 'M. Agrippa' occurs in three places. 'Asia Minor' is used several times where 'Asia' (in the Roman sense) appears to be meant: 'the province of Asia Minor' is a novelty. *Iunoni Liviae sacrum* does not mean that Livia is honoured under the name of Iuno. But in a work of such detail the wonder is that oversights are so few.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

CATALOGUE OF THE McCLEAN COLLECTION.

Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins. By S. W. GROSE.

Vol. I. Pp. x+380, 111 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1923. £4 4s. THE Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge owes to the liberality of the McClean family a magnificent collection of Greek coins, together with the means for due publication of them. The present is the first volume of the Catalogue. The editor is Mr. S. W. Grose, Tutor of Christ's College, who has already proved by his Catalogue of the Balliol coins, as well as by articles in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, that he is a thoroughly accomplished numismatist.

The last great group of numismatists, including Mr. Head, M. Babelon, and Dr. Imhoof Blumer, has done work of great value by insisting on the historic importance of Greek coins, and broadly working out their connexions. Mr. Grose tells us that Mr. McClean also collected on these lines. But perhaps the most striking feature of the work of the younger school, such as, in England, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. Grose, and Mr. Seltman; in Germany, Mr. Regling and Mr. Tudeer—is the intensive way in which they work. They study not only the weights and the dates of coins, but also the relations of the dies with which they

were struck, their comparative frequency, their minute peculiarities. In the same way Greek vases have been worked out by writers like Beazley and Hoppin with more minute accuracy than ever before. There can be no doubt that such spadework is valuable, and gives us fresh data; but at the same time it would be unfortunate if the broad historic point of view were neglected: Babelon and I are doing what we can to maintain it.

Mr. Grose gives us, in the case of nearly all coins, what he calls the metal axis—that is, the relation in direction between obverse and reverse. He also minutely compares them with other published examples, citing for the purpose not only great collections, but even the sale-catalogues of recent years. He tries to ascertain the exact history of the dies used, and how long they went on after they were cracked. He is less successful in tracing coins to particular finds: but here the difficulties are enormous, since finds are seldom adequately published, and have been constantly dispersed or added to. It is a blessing to know that the American Numismatic Society now contemplates a full account of these hoards.

This first volume of the Catalogue

includes the coins of Italy and Sicily. The plates will be of the greater value because the corresponding volumes of the British Museum Catalogue have no plates, only a few inadequate woodcuts. An eye accustomed to the cabinets of the national collection feels at once in looking at the McClean plates a certain inequality, since the coins in the British Museum are from collections which were so picked and picked that anything below a certain level of beauty or preservation was apt to be eliminated. Yet the degree of beauty revealed in these plates is very great, and a wonderful testimony to Greek taste even in little things.

Perhaps the greatest desideratum now for Greek numismatics is an orderly historic survey of the coins of the Greek cities of South Italy. None of the works on the subject at present available is satisfactory. Carelli and Garrucci are unscientific. Babelon, in his great *Traité*, has at present as regards Italy

only come down to the Persian Wars. Sir Arthur Evans' work on the coins of Tarentum, and Dr. Regling's on those of Terina, show what might be done. Mr. Grose's notes on the dates of Italian issues are careful and accurate, but not fully explained. A complete collation of city with city is needed; and it would probably throw much light on both Greek and Roman history.

In making his Catalogue, Mr. Grose had no opportunity for the detailed discussion of classes of coins, however interesting. This necessary defect he has compensated by adding in articles in *The Numismatic Chronicle* (1915-17) excellent dissertations on series which attracted his attention. This is just the way in which the compiling of catalogues tends to the increase of knowledge. The compiler is sure to find difficulties, and in solving them he secures an admirable training for himself and cuts steps up the slope for his successors.

P. GARDNER.

LATIN PROSE RHYTHM.

Latin Prose Rhythm. By H. D. BROADHEAD. Pp. 137. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1922. 15s.

THE author of this work was educated in New Zealand, where he took the degree of B.A. He then went to Cambridge, became a Scholar of Trinity, and resided there for three years. After his return to New Zealand he became Lecturer at Canterbury University College. The present dissertation was submitted as an exercise for the degree of D.Litt. in the University of New Zealand. The Antipodes, therefore, may with justice look on him as their alumnus.

Dr. Broadhead claims to have followed 'a new method of investigation' in dealing with this difficult subject. He tells us that he owes his first interest in the matter to the 'inspiring works' of Zielinski. He is now, however, in acute, though respectfully expressed, revolt against his early master. He rejects Zielinski's theory of the recurrent cretic, present in some shape or other in all clausulae;¹ he

impugns his statistics, as founded upon false assumptions, and charges him with neglect of the accent as an essential factor in prose rhythm. He also disagrees with Zander's views on the subject of word-ictus and *rhythmī congruens iteratio*,² while he says of de Groot³ that 'he ignores entirely any sense-groups, and so neglects that which alone makes speech intelligible and rhythm possible.'

The author's main object is 'to show that, so far as Latin Prose is concerned, accent is an essential element in the production of rhythm' (p. 37). This contention appears most reasonable, and probably few persons would dispute it as thus stated. Zielinski himself, whose position in the matter is somewhat imperfectly stated in ch. v., continually emphasises the importance of accent, and his efforts to reconcile accent with quantity have led him to his theory of a 'shifting accent' which has been so much criticised. Of recent years the opinion (shared by the present

¹ *Class. Rev.* XXX. (1916), pp. 53-55.

² *Class. Rev.* XXXIV. (1920), pp. 42-45.

³ *Class. Rev.* XIX. (1905), pp. 164-172.

reviewer) has been steadily growing that accent plays a more important part than was previously realised in the production of prose rhythm, and that further examination of the subject from this point of view is likely to be fruitful. We are, however, met with a difficulty at the outset, since the character of the Latin accent is disputed. If it was one of stress, a view held strongly by Broadhead and apparently essential to his system, all is clear. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that a number of competent judges deny this and consider it to have been one of pitch, as in Greek.

The gist of Broadhead's book is to be found in chh. iii. and v., from which statements may be extracted with occasional comments. We are told (p. 40) that the primary rhythmical feet are 'cretic, spondee (with the resolved forms, *i.e.* anapaest and dactyl), trochee (with its resolved form, *i.e.* tribrach), and iambus (including, at the end of the word, pyrrhich).' The omission of 'resolutions' after 'cretic' seems due to accident, since later on (pp. 73 ff.) resolutions of the cretic appear in cretic combinations. On p. 45 we find 'a set of symbols by which combinations of feet can be designated as succinctly as possible. . . . By Zielinski the *L*, *M*, *S*, and *P* classes are all regarded as variations of the *Integrationsclausel*; in our system every foot is given its own symbol. Thus, to take the primary feet first. *C* stands for cretic, *S* for spondee, *T* for trochee, *I* for iambus; but when the final foot of a kolon is a trochee (or spondee) I use the number 2, but when it is a cretic or dactyl I use the number 3. . . . Thus *voltus ferre possemus* is *SC 2*, *omnes postulant* is *S 3*, *copias comparavit* is *CT 2*.' At this point the reader will inquire what is included in the clausula. We are told (p. 68): 'A simple description of my method is this—I record what are the last two feet of the period, except where the antepenultimate foot is of vital importance.' This method of determining the length of the clausula is said to be analogous to that stated by de Groot, though there are certain differences.

We now come to the question of 'secondary' feet. In such combina-

tions as *ōmnēs cognōscūnt*, *cōnsūlēs cognōscūnt* we have an unaccented syllable (*cog-*) between the primary foot (*S* or *C*) and the two final syllables. Broadhead calls this an *Anlaufsilbe*, which 'may not only form part of a primary foot, but may follow upon a word that ends in such a primary foot' (p. 43). The secondary feet are given on p. 46, and the symbols are said to be 'equally simple,' a statement which the reader may question. Thus, to take the first class: 'If a cretic is followed by a short *Anlaufsilbe* (e.g. *cōnsūlēs ādēssent*) the resulting foot is denoted by the symbol *D* (as a help to the memory cp. *Dichoreus*); if the *Anlaufsilbe* is long (e.g. *cōnsūlēs āūdīstis*) the symbol is *E*.' The secondary feet are succeeded by an awe-inspiring phantom, described as *U*. This 'represents one long accented syllable that does not make part of a foot, e.g. *Mil. 46, ērānt pēr-mūlti ālī,*' which is described as *BU 2¹*. Here *ērānt pēr-* = *B*, a secondary foot formed of an iambic + a long *Anlaufsilbe*, *multi* (-i elided) = *U*, and *ālī-* is a resolution for a long syllable. It may be truly said that, if Zielinski chastises his readers with whips, Broadhead chastises his with scorpions.

Zielinski ingeniously used the first letters of the Greek alphabet to represent the types, *i.e.* the caesura divisions in the clausula. Thus in his Form 1 (— ∪ — ∪ — ∪), if there is no caesura at all, the type is *α*; if the caesura comes after the first long it is *β*; if after the second syllable, it is *γ*, and if after the third syllable, *δ*. Broadhead says that he has retained this convenient mode of marking caesuras by Greek letters, 'which, however, appear in English form.' He drops Zielinski's *β* type (e.g. *non oportere*) on the ground that many of the examples are doubtful. His types, therefore, are *α*, *γ*, *δ*, which seems awkward, since in English *δ* comes before *γ*, not after it, as in Greek.

It is interesting to compare the results arrived at by the new method with those of Zielinski. On pp. 69 ff. tables are given to show the relative frequency of the principal combinations of two feet. The most frequent are said to be:

- (1) T 2 (- - - -).
- (2) C 2 (- - - -).
- (3) C 3 (- - - -).
- (4) I 2 (- - - -).

Of these T 2 is the double trochee which, when provided with a cretic base, becomes Zielinski's Form 3 (- - - - -); C 2 is Zielinski's Form 1; C 3 is Zielinski's Form 2; and I 2, if provided with a previous long syllable, also falls under Zielinski's Form 1. The results, therefore, do not differ widely, except that the double trochee comes at the head of the list.

The author proceeds to discuss the various combinations, e.g. cretic, spondaic, etc. Thus ten forms of cretic combinations (C 2, C 3) are found to exist when resolutions are taken into account. Ch. vi. deals with what Zielinski terms the 'pervading rhythm' of the sentence,¹ and is based on an analysis of four speeches of Cicero. This is followed by elaborate tables recording the frequency of the various combinations, which it must have taken enormous labour to construct. Thus 66 varieties of C combinations and 95 of S are given, while finally, after other heads have been similarly dealt with, we have a final list of 218 'rare forms which are noteworthy only for their infrequency.'

The subject dealt with in this work is so technical and complicated that the discussion must necessarily be somewhat bewildering, even to those who have made some study of the points involved. Broadhead does not write for beginners, but assumes that his readers are acquainted with the literature of the subject, often using technical terms borrowed from Zielinski and others, without explanation. His new symbols are only given once (pp. 45-46), and he assumes that his readers have then mastered them and are capable of carrying them in their heads when they come to chh. v. and vi. It would be much clearer if, when he is discussing new forms and combinations, the metrical equivalents were given. Also, he rarely quotes passages, but only gives figures to show the frequency of

various sequences. Lastly, there is no index.

There are two subjects in which Broadhead does not appear to be much interested. One of these is *concinntas*, i.e. the use of antithetical clauses of equal length and concluded by *ὁμοιοτέλευτα*. The ancients ascribed the invention of *concinntas* to Gorgias and that of *numeri* to Thrasymachus. Cicero tells us that prose rhythm does not consist of *numeri* only, but also of *concinntas*, and that the rhythm sometimes consists of this alone.² This is the modicum of truth which underlies Zander's theory of rhythm as consisting of *congruens iteratio*. There are occasions when an ending, which is otherwise insoluble, is at once explained by *concinntas*. Thus in *Mil.* 73 we have one of Cicero's long sentences, in which every *κόμμα* and *κῶλον* exhibits a well-marked *numerus* of the ordinary kind with the solitary exception of six words, viz. *nec in faciendū nec in libidinē*, which under Zielinski's system defy analysis. Broadhead regards *nec in libidine* as an example of what he terms A 3 (A = iambic + *Anlaufsilbe*), but adds that this is the only occasion where A 3 occurs. The rhythm here depends on the balance of *ισόκωλα* ended by homoeoteleuton, not on any final *numerus*. In order to avoid monotony, Cicero plucks an arrow from the quiver of Gorgias.

The second subject concerns the evidence furnished by the mediaeval *cursus*. Various writers have shown that Zielinski's three chief Forms are found in Greek as well as in Latin, and were finally stereotyped in the *cursus*. The rules of the *cursus* are established beyond dispute. If we take Form 1 (- - - - -), e.g. *μηδὲ τοξεύη, morte vicistis* in connexion with the *cursus planus* in which the accents are in the same place, it would seem obvious that in all cases where this rhythm occurs we have the same *numerus*. If so, it is hard to understand why Broadhead (p. 45) styles *voltus ferre possemus* SC 2 and (p. 115) treats *in re publica bona esse visuros* as SdC 2. Why does he not call them C 2 (= Zielinski's 1 γ, and

¹ *Class. Rev.* XXX. (1916), pp. 22-26.

² *Orator*, §§ 164, 181, 202, etc.

cursus planus)? This would seem more natural, especially in view of his statement (p. 69) that his usual practice is to take the last two feet of the period.

These criticisms are not made in any hostile spirit, but are intended as a tribute to an able and original piece of

work, which deserves to hold a high place among recent publications on the subject with which it deals. It is likely to produce much discussion, and the author is well able to defend himself against those who disagree with him.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

THE HISTORY OF HISTORY.

An Introduction to the History of History (Records of Civilisation: Sources and Studies). By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH.D. Pp. xii + 334. Columbia University Press; Oxford University Press, 1922. Cloth, 17s. net.

THIS book is designed to be the introductory volume of a new series to be issued under the general title of *Records of Civilisation: Sources and Studies*. The series, which is already represented by Professors Botsford's and Sihler's *Hellenic Civilisation*, is to include both historical source-books and works of critical interpretation embodying the results of modern scholarship. The original design of the present volume has been modified, and while the purely introductory chapters remain, the sections dealing with ancient history, Jewish, Greek, Roman and Christian, have been expanded into a general survey which now occupies the greater part of the book. A brief review of mediæval and modern interpretations of history has been added as a final chapter, pending the publication of a further volume covering those periods.

In a prefatory note of disarming modesty, Professor Shotwell apologises to the classicist for invading his field. But few will feel disposed to quarrel with him for his undertaking. He has brought to the task a fine mastery of his material, together with a scholarly detachment and—in general—an admirable sense of historical perspective. Himself an enthusiast for modern scientific method, he distinguishes with clearness and impartiality the artistic and individual element in history as a literary product from the scientific and social element involved in the process of historical research. It is indeed the latter which chiefly interests him, and this is perhaps inevitable, inasmuch as

the achievements of the spirit have little traceable development in time, while the apparatus of criticism shares the steadily progressive character of all scientific invention, and offers a straightforward track to the historian of history. But he seems at times to assign undue importance to mechanism and material forces (as in the misleading statement that 'machinery incorporates thought in its materials, just as marble bears the impress of a sculptor's imagination'); and he might with advantage have made it clearer that the present day concentration on economic forces is not more likely to unlock every secret of history than those other partial means of interpretation in the past whose discovery, application and supersession he has brilliantly sketched in the final chapter.

As it is, the classicist will find some hard, if salutary, sayings among the conclusions to which he is led. It is no doubt true, from the point of view of scientific historical research, that 'upon the whole, we have almost nothing to learn from antique interpretations of history. . . . They are of no service to us in our own interpretations.' And the explanation given is no doubt the correct one: 'A political man is the furthest analysis one gets. But even Aristotle never knew how many things there were in politics besides politics.' But Professor Shotwell finds it easier to forgive the Old Testament historians for their deficient standard of truth, his defence of which is an admirable lesson in historical perspective, than to forgive Thucydides for being ignorant of economics and for refusing to portray the everyday social life of Athens. He is indeed somewhat less than kind to Thucydides, towards whom he seems to feel something of the anger

of an admirer who sees the greatness of opportunities thrown away. At first sight there seems in this something paradoxical, but really it is the natural protest of the scientific historian against those extravagant claims which, as he says, reveal rather the scientific limitations of their authors than the scientific triumphs of Thucydides. For the rest, his analysis of Thucydides' shortcomings (on the scientific side) is very ably done; but it is neither quite fair nor quite accurate to say of him that (instead of describing the Athens of his time) 'he chose to hand down as part of an everlasting possession to future ages instructions for our Von Moltkes, Kropotkins, Joffres and Ludendorffs, in the handling of spearmen on foraging campaigns.' Such a sentence is unworthy of the book as a whole, and of the candid and genial critic which Professor Shotwell shows himself to be. Of Herodotus he is charmingly appreciative (he might, by the way, have brought up to date

his parallel with the Franco-Prussian war), and the studies of Polybius, Livy, and Tacitus are fair-minded and discriminating.

The book is provided with valuable bibliographies, and is written in a lucid and vigorous style, which adds much to its attractiveness, in spite of an occasional oversight ('logi' on p. 250 is an unlucky misprint), and some embarrassment caused by the nomenclature of the subject. It is unfortunate that no better alternative has been found for 'the history of history' than the respectable but unattractive 'historiography,' the full possibilities of which are revealed by such a phrase as 'the history of the philosophy of Greek historiography.' And there is less still to be said for 'unhistoricity.' But these are small blemishes, and do not affect the value of a book that is scholarly, illuminating, and scarcely ever dull—a suggestive and stimulating introduction to its subject.

E. W. V. CLIFTON.

TWO SCANDINAVIAN MISCELLANIES.

Symbolae Arctoeae. Fasc. I. edidit Societas Philologica Christianiensis. Typis excudit A. W. BRÖGGER in aed. H. Erichsen et Soc. Christianiae MDCCCXXII. Pp. 86. Paper.

Strena Philologica Upsaliensis. Festschrift tillägnad Professor PER PERSSON på hans 65-årsdag, Nyårsafton 1922. Pp. vii + 416, with a photograph. Upsala: Edv. Berlings Boktryckeri A.-B. Paper.

SUMMARY justice is the meed of composite and polyglot books.

In the Norwegian volume the classical reader will find G. Rudberg's 'Neuplatonismus und Politik,' an essay in German on the attitudes of later philosophers, especially Plotinus, towards the questions which led to Plato's *Laws*; discussions by S. P. Thomas in Latin of the Augustan *census senatorius*, of *consulares legere* in Livy II. 18, of *nunc* in Cic. *de Rep.* II. 22, and of Festus on *negritu*; a minute analysis by R. Ullmann, in French, of Pindar's use of the article; and a long paper by E. Smith, in Danish (or is it Norse?), on the meanings of *Ἀργος* in Homer. The

author, who is versed in recent English writings on Homer, decides that *Ἀργος* has two meanings, to which *Ἰάσον* *Ἀργος* might add a third if we knew what it meant: (1) a kingdom in Thessaly, where was the home of Achilles; (2) a kingdom, ruled by the Atridae, in the Peloponnese, including Lacedaemon and Messene, Argolis, Corinthia, Sicyon, and Achaia. He would connect the word with *regnum* and *Reich*.

So much, or so little, for the book of 86 pages; and what for the book of 416? The Upsala tributes to Professor Persson are couched in Swedish, Latin, German, French. How many libraries in our countries will buy this volume? How many English-speakers will buy it for what they can read? And how many will learn Swedish for the rest? To whom have offprints been sent? The neighbour of mine who has done most for the text of Sophocles has not received a copy of the first chapter, O. A. Danielsson's acute and instructive criticisms of some difficulties in the O.R.; nor could I do justice to them in a sentence or a paragraph. The

reviewer of such a book must needs become a cataloguer, and a curser of the Tower of Babel; and even his catalogue must be selective and little *raisonné*.

Let S, L, G, F denote the four languages.

G. Rudberg (L) dates Xen. *Symp.* after Pl. *Symp.* and *Phaedr.*, which belongs in his opinion to 366. E. Staaff (S) makes *aerarius* mean 'liable to military service,' and equates *tribuni aerarii* with *tr. mil.* C. Theander (G) vamps the *στασιωτικά* of Alcaeus. H. Hagendahl (G) expounds or emends Ammianus. J. Samuelsson (S) examines how far Horace avoids like endings in consecutive words; G. Sandsjöe (S) etymologises about *vévra*, O. Lagercrantz (L) about *fortuitu*, *omnino*, and *uicissim*. M. P. Nilsson (G) derives the precaesarian calendar from the end of the regal period. H. Sjögren (L) reads in Cic. *ad Att.* VIII. 7. 1 *cum habeat praesertim xx ipse cohortes, xxx Domitius*; surely rightly, for *Domitius*, he says, is in M. T. Kalén mends 'Die Bau-

inschrift von Tegea.' A. Gagnér (G) throws light on Roman ways of denoting the day of the month, and finds that in reckoning an interval of time it was usual with ordinals to count in both the first term and the last, but with cardinals only the last. L. Kjellberg (G) will have none of P. N. Ure's defence of Ar. 'Aθ. II. 25. 3 on Themistocles and the Areopagus; and in Cic. *ad Fam.* V. 12 he would read *redituque* <*in gratiam regis*> *retinetur*. E. Kjellberg (G) discusses the development of the Theseus legend. A. Boëthius gives a long article (G) on the topography of Dorian Argos, with photographs and a map. V. C. Lindström (L) dilates upon the trochaic systems of Plautus. V. Lundström (S) argues that the Augustan *Chalcidicum* was replaced by the *Atrium Mineruae* of Domitian, who built also a temple to *Minerua Chalcidica* in the Campus Martius. For E. Lidén on the name *Mosynoikoi* (S) see C.R. XXXVII., p. 106. Lastly, E. Löfstedt (L) derives the uses of *dum* from an original meaning 'now.' E. HARRISON.

LINDSAY'S EARLY LATIN VERSE.

Early Latin Verse. By W. M. LINDSAY, F.B.A. One vol. 8vo. Pp. 372+12. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. £1 8s.

A BIG book by Professor Lindsay on the scansion of the extant verse of the early period of Latin literature (not much about Saturnians) is an event of great importance to all editors of texts and advanced students generally. They will have to study every word in it, and take their bearings to the author's doctrine on a multitude of complicated questions of prosody, phonetics, and textual criticism. But this book makes a wider appeal. It claims to have disclosed for the first time the intonation of Latin speech as heard in the days of Plautus and Terence, and by inference in those of Cicero—'the tone of utterance that breathes life into the dry bones of language' (Preface, p. vii)—and to have effected this by clearing away 'the rubbish of half a century.' Professor Lindsay makes a pretty clean sweep of the views of his predecessors, including the Teubner editors, Leo,

Klotz, Müller, Ritschl, to say nothing of others. What, then, is the new gospel which is 'to restore order and harmony among lovers of Plautus' (p. ix)? With the details of Platine criticism the ordinary student of Latin is not deeply concerned, especially as they involve the discussion of highly controversial matters on which only the specialist can form an opinion; but the intonation of Latin speech is a matter on which new light should be welcomed by all. It is a pity that Professor Lindsay has not presented any conspectus of his views on this matter; they have to be gathered by the reader from a multitude of passages scattered throughout the book, and I confess that after reading it I am unable to make any definite statement on the subject. One finds little or nothing about 'intonation' in the strict sense of the term, but a great deal about pronunciation, and in particular about a habit of 'slurred pronunciation' (pp. 257-9), due to 'the hurry of utterance,' and involving syncope. No

phonetic account of the process of slurring is attempted; indeed, Professor Lindsay seems deliberately to ignore certain phonetic difficulties to which several writers have called attention. How, for instance, was the word *exprobras* pronounced when the first syllable was 'slurred'? *E-sprobras*? Professor Lindsay does not think it important to know this; one thing alone he asserts, that its first syllable was somehow short in the sentence *Quid exprobras*? as ordinarily pronounced by an educated Roman. This pronunciation would, no doubt, explain the trochaic line which begins with these words (*Trin.* 318). But in another line of Plautus (*Most.* 300) we get *cur exprobras*? pronounced - - ˘ -. Was this a mispronunciation? No, replies Professor Lindsay (p. 52); the shortened pronunciation was only an 'alternative'; and he admits that 'we can seldom guess' why the one pronunciation was preferred in some cases and the other in others, any more than we can tell why 'we will' is sometimes reduced to 'we'll' in English. This is hardly illuminating. It simply comes to this, that in hurried speech the Romans somehow slurred long syllables so as to pronounce them short; and it opens the door to almost any licence of this kind. Professor Lindsay does not even call attention to one important limitation to the shortening of initial long syllables, viz. that they must begin with a vowel, e.g. *audivi*, *annonā*, *argentum*, *ignoras*, *indignus*, *insidiae*, *invidia*, *ornatus* (and *ergo*, *ibo*, *unus*, *apstuli*, *immortalis*), but not, say, *primus*, *piscator*, *germanus*: at least we have no evidence for any slurred pronunciation of initial syllables beginning with a consonant. In some cases Professor Lindsay's slurrings involve a still greater difficulty; how could *quodne*, *nosne*, *idne* be pronounced as monosyllables without reducing them to *quon*, *non*, *in*?

What is the evidence on which Professor Lindsay relies for his slurrings? It is drawn entirely from certain features of Old Latin verse-structure. The verse of comedy in particular is treated as reflecting accurately the pronunciations of everyday speech; and to the proper way of scanning the verse of

comedy Professor Lindsay devotes the bulk of his book. From his preface one might have anticipated that some new law of Old Latin verse-structure was to be launched. Nothing of the kind. It is the old, old story of the 'brevis brevians,' to which Professor Lindsay sits tight, in spite of the criticism with which the law has been assailed from various points of view.¹ In one respect, it is true, Professor Lindsay interprets this 'law of Latin phonetics' (p. 36) differently from most of his predecessors, e.g. Skutsch: he refuses to allow anything to the operation of an 'ictus' or verse-stress, demanding that the 'brevis,' if accented, must carry a word-accent or sentence-accent, and that the 'brevianda' must always be unaccented (p. 40). This restriction is, however, not insisted upon with rigour; for we find that *adoptatīcius* is scanned as ˘ ˘ - - ˘ ˘ in *Poen.* 1045 (p. 87), though the accentuation must have been *adōptatīcius* (cf. *Poen.* 1060);² again *hārpagō* is declared to have a shortened *o* under this law (p. 298), though the 'brevis' is wholly unaccented, and the 'brevianda' has a secondary accent, and is followed by a pause which prevents that accent from being overridden by any sentence-accent. (In the Teubner edition, *Trin.* 239a, I see no accent over the second syllable of the word!) I note in passing that Professor Lindsay nowhere formulates a law of the 'brevis brevians': this must be intentional on his part, for several different formulations have been offered by scholars, including himself (*Jahresbericht*, 1895-1905, p. 171), and none of them is even mentioned; the characteristics of the law have to be picked up by the reader as he proceeds.

Whether it is legitimate to infer from the practice of verse-writers to the pronunciations of daily speech is a matter on which opinions may differ.

¹ See *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* for 1920 (dated 1921), p. 79. In a recent review of an article by me (*Classical Philology*, VI. 1), Professor Kauer of Vienna sums up the situation in the words, 'Der Ausdruck *Iamben-Kürzungsgesetz* passt nicht mehr.' See Köhler's *Jahresbericht über Plautus* 1912-20, p. 28.

² How does Professor Lindsay scan *Amph.* 761? He does not tell us.

Skutsch, to whom this book is dedicated, declared it to be an error of principle to infer the quantities of vowels in ordinary speech from the syllable-shortenings in the dramatists (*Berliner Phil. Woch.* 1902, p. 1238, in a review of Marx's *Hilfsbüchlein*, Third Edition); and the same thing might be said as to inferring syllable-shortenings in ordinary speech from syllable-shortenings in verse. But, apart from this, it must be observed that the whole doctrine of syllable-shortening in verse rests on a big assumption, viz. that the quantitative purity of the disyllabic rises and falls of Greek verse was maintained intact in the early Latin adaptations of these metres. This assumption becomes unnecessary, if accent as well as quantity is recognised as a structural element in Old Latin verse, leading to a toleration of departures from quantitative purity, not only in the inner falls of iambic and trochaic dipodies, but also in disyllabic rises and falls in any foot. Professor Lindsay comes almost within sight of this when he speaks of the

Roman 'regard for accent' (pp. 28, 317-23, etc.); but he debars himself from carrying this doctrine out to its logical conclusion by his blind insistence on the formula 'Plautine verse is quantitative, not accentual' (pp. 37, 268). I venture to call it 'blind,' because it is obvious on reflection that quantitative structure and accentual structure are not necessarily incompatible; they may go hand in hand, or they may supplement one another. To Professor Lindsay accentual demarcation of rises is a mere ornament in verse; but it may well be something more.¹ If so, the whole doctrine of the 'brevis brevians' falls to the ground as an explanation of the structure of Old Latin verse. As a law of Latin linguistics it may be thoroughly justified: that is an entirely different matter, in which the scope of shortening is far more limited than it is assumed to be in verse under the operation of this law.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

¹ I hope to make a fuller statement on this point in a volume to be entitled *What is Rhythm?*

St. Basil and Greek Literature. By L. V. JACKS (Doctoral dissertation). Pp. v+124. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1922.

THE question of Basil's tastes in Greek literature, and of his knowledge of the different Classical writers, is one of more than stylistic interest, and well deserves the careful study which Mr. Jacks has given to it. Mr. Jacks is under no illusion, in a general way, regarding the slipperiness of the path of 'source investigation,' and he sets out, as he tells us, to trace 'only certain, or nearly certain, signs of an acquaintance with, or attitude of mind towards, the earlier Greek culture.' He is able to show that Basil had read widely and deeply in Plato and Aristotle, and that the former had a peculiar attraction for the Christian theologian. An interesting point is Basil's close acquaintance with Aristotle's biological writings. He of course knew Homer well; but, in spite of his well-known characterisation of Aeschylus, he shows little acquaintance (less even than Mr. Jacks' index would suggest) with Attic tragedy, and less with Attic oratory. Among writers more nearly contemporary with himself, his favourite appears to have been Plutarch. As compared with contemporary pagan writers, Basil was sparing in quotation; he had too much that was original and important to say. The true measure of his Greek education is its influence on the mould of his thought and of his style; to this influence the German-American method of 'source investigation' is not always a

reliable guide. 'University men' like Basil quote and echo many authors whom they have not read.

Even so the method yields instructive results, if applied with judgment and scholarship. Mr. Jacks has occasional lapses from both. On p. 62 he quotes as a reminiscence of Thucydides I. 134, Basil's comparison (*Ep.* 74) of 'the Podandus' (*sic*) to 'the Spartan Ceadas, or any other natural fissure you have seen.' Here the least of his offence is that he transforms a well-known Cappadocian town into a βάραθρον; far more serious is his insinuation that Basil had read Thucydides. He *may* have done; the pity is that, on the strength of this and another coincidence, Thucydides will now stand on the 'index of authors quoted by, or connected with, St. Basil' until a less sanguine source-investigator takes the task in hand. Strabo also (p. 73) figures on the list, on the strength of Basil's statement (36,A) that 'some regard the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas as forming a land-locked system (περιγεγράφθαι καθ' ἑαυτάς).' This is traced to Strabo 507,C: ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μερὶς ἀρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάττης εἰς ἣν κατέπαυεν ἡ προτέρα. καλεῖται δ' ἡ αὐτὴ θάλαττα καὶ Ὑρκανία . . . ἐστὶ (ἔστι: Jacks) δ' ὁ κόλπος ἀνέχων ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ, which Mr. Jacks translates: 'It is a sea apart from the ocean.' I select these instances to justify the application to this thesis of a description too often applied to American doctoral dissertations, 'a useful collection of material, to be used with discrimination.' The German-American

system which introduces young graduates to work of this sort is admirable; still more admirable would be an efficient supervision of the results as a preliminary to publication.

W. M. CALDER.

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN.

Caer Llugwy: the Roman Fort between Capel Curig and Bettws-y-Coed. By J. P. HALL. One vol. 10" x 7½". Pp. 64. Frontispiece, 20 plates, 4 plans, and a map. Manchester: Taylor, Garnett, Evans and Co., 1923. 10s. 6d.

The Roman Villa at North Leigh. By M. V. TAYLOR. 8½" x 5½". Pp. 4, with a map, plan, and 2 photographs. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1923. 1s.

SINCE the seventeenth century it has been suspected that Roman remains, styled by various travellers a 'brickwork,' 'Roman building,' 'Roman villa,' existed on the farm Bryn y Gefelliau on the banks of the Llugwy, two miles from Capel Curig. In 1920 excavations undertaken by Mr. J. P. Hall and Captain G. H. Higson revealed an approximately square fort with an area of 3.9 acres. An annexe to the west, measuring roughly 300 feet by 400 feet, was partly opened up, and some stone buildings traced. The result is to prove the existence there of a fort, apparently built 90-100 A.D., which has been named Caer Llugwy by the excavators. This elaborate and expensive book deals with these 'Trial Excavations.' Of the chapters contributed by various writers, the most original is that by Mr. W. J. Hemp on the 'Environs of the Fort and the Roads.' The map illustrating this attempt to deal with Roman roads in North Wales is the most useful feature of the book. Mr. Howel Williams writes upon 'Ancient Lead Workings,' and the editor, Mr. F. A. Bruton, furnishes an introduction.

Miss Taylor has expanded the late Professor Haverfield's brief description, and included in the plan the details of the excavations of 1910-1911, thus providing a much needed summary of what we know of the North Leigh villa. It is to be hoped that in the near future the excavation of this interesting house will be completed.

J. A. PETCH.

THE OSTINELLI AUXILIA.

LUIGI SCHIAPARELLI *Raccolta di Documenti Latini* (=Auxilia N. 2). Como (Ostinelli), 1923. Pp. xvi + 160. 30 francs.

EVERYONE who visits Italy (and for many of us the other countries of Europe are merely so many avenues through which we can pass to the land we love) knows how keen is the interest of Italians to-day in their glorious past, keener, perhaps, than at any time since the Renaissance. The Paravia series of the Classics (reviewed here in August-September, 1918) is one indication of it. Another is the Ostinelli series, entitled *Auxilia ad Res Italicas Medii Aevi Exquirendas in usum Scholarum instructa et collecta*. The first volume of *Auxilia* was

Professor Schiaparelli's paleographical manual *La Scrittura Latina* (pp. 212; 20 francs; Como, 1921). This is the second. And we are promised a volume by Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna* (1343-1408), from which, I fancy, we shall learn a great deal of the history of MSS. If I remember rightly, the genial author told me recently that it was nearly or quite finished.

This volume, by the Florence Professor of Paleography, selects from inscriptions, papyri, etc., specimens of the formulae used for various acts of law or business: e.g., the purchase of a horse, a house, a slave; manumissions of slaves; military diplomas; wills; receipts, and so on. It is valuable to every student, for—so far as I know—there is no other collection quite like it. And it must be of supreme interest to Italians. We must all congratulate the publishers on having secured the services of so admirable an author.

But I trust that I may be allowed, without giving offence, to remind the author that, while there are other persons in Italy who could do this work (though probably not so well), there is a work which he alone in Italy can do. After Cipolla's death there is no one who is capable of finishing the *Codici Bobbiesi* but Schiaparelli. His admirable monograph on Irish script (*Note Paleografiche*, Florence, 1917) shows that he is the man for this task. And to whom else can we look for a satisfactory treatment of the other Italian scriptoria, Verona, Vercelli, Novara, Ivrea, etc.? A year ago I should have added Lucca. But fortunately we may hope to see soon his edition (for the Vatican series) of that wonderful MS., No. 490, of the Lucca Cathedral, an edition which, I am told, will include an account of the Lucca scriptorium.

W. M. LINDSAY.

STATIUS IN IRISH.

Togail na Tebe: The Thebaid of Statius. The Irish Text edited from two MSS. With Introduction, Translation, and Notes, by GEORGE CALDER, M.A., B.D., D.Litt. 8vo. Pp. xxiv + 432. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1922. Price 42s.

THIS work will interest such classical scholars as care to see for themselves what happened to a Latin epic in the process of transformation into late mediaeval Irish romance. The result has, as literature, no value whatever; but it is of very considerable importance in the history of the Latinisation of Western Europe, for no Irish literary productions show so clearly as the translations of Vergil, Lucan, Statius, etc., that Irish writers remained almost totally unaffected by the form of Latin literature. Readers who are not acquainted with Irish will be able to satisfy themselves on the point by means of Dr. Calder's translation of the Irish *Thebaid*. They must be warned, however, that the Irish original, though often grotesque enough, is not always really so grotesque as Dr. Calder represents it. 'Female womanly words,' p. 285, or 'to make a huge menace against him,' *ib.*, or "'whither is flight attempted at all,'" said he,' p. 293, and the

like are not quite fair to the translator of the Latin or to the translator of the Irish.

The Editor's excellent design of producing a work that might be useful to learners of Irish has been skilfully countered by the University Press, which has fixed a price for the book that puts it beyond the reach of all but reviewers.

J. FRASER.

TWO PROBLEMS IN AESCHYLUS.

The Problem of the Agamemnon. By E. S. HOERNLE, I.C.S. A Pamphlet. 8vo. Pp. iii+42. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. 2s. net.

The Recognition Scene in the Choephore. By E. S. HOERNLE, I.C.S. A Pamphlet. 8vo. Pp. iii+28. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922. 2s. net.

IN the first of these pamphlets Mr. Hoernle, whose *Notes on the Text of Aeschylus* were recently reviewed in these columns, presents us with a criticism of the late Dr. Verrall's theory of the plot of the *Agamemnon*, a letter of Verrall's in reply, and his own comments on the latter. Verrall had asked the question how the king, who is said to have destroyed the town of Troy before starting for home, could arrive at Argos on the morning after the beacon message which is said to announce its fall. His answer was that Agamemnon never fired the signal at all, and that the beacon seen at Argos did not announce the capture of Troy, but was only stated to do so by Clytaemnestra, in order to cover up a signal arranged with Aegisthus as a means of collecting their adherents at the critical moment of Agamemnon's return. This view is effectively criticised by Mr. Hoernle, and defended by Verrall with his wonted dexterity; but he does not seem to meet the point that, if Clytaemnestra was obliged to account for the beacon, she gratuitously chose the very worst possible explanation—one that exposed her to conviction of falsehood as soon as her husband appeared on the scene. Mr. Hoernle propounds as an alternative view 'that Agamemnon reached Argos *unexpectedly soon*, thereby nearly defeating, and hoping to defeat, the conspirators' aims.' His idea is that Agamemnon suspected the state of affairs at Argos, and did not fire the signal immediately on the capture of Troy, but only after its destruction, on the eve of his departure; that the furious storm in which he was involved carried him with extreme rapidity towards Argos, while at the same time it interrupted the transmission of the signal, which could not be resumed until the succeeding night; and that, owing to this odd conjunction of circumstances, Agamemnon got home nearly as soon as the signal itself. On this ingenious view Verrall comments with fatal effect: 'Why not suppress the news (of the capture) till his actual arrival, and surprise Clytaemnestra even more than he did? Why give her a *short* notice if he need not give her any?' And to this Mr. Hoernle makes no satisfactory reply. If one may venture to say so, both Dr. Verrall and his critic are perhaps mistaken in supposing that Agamemnon is represented as arriving at Argos on the morning after the beacon message.

Some arguments to the contrary, with which Mr. Hoernle appears to be unacquainted, will be found in the introduction to Headlam's *Agamemnon*; and until they are refuted it seems superfluous to decide which is the better way of surmounting a difficulty which may not really exist.

In his second pamphlet, which examines Dr. Verrall's account of the Recognition Scene in the *Choephore*, but which had not the benefit of that lamented author's reply, it would appear that Verrall is in the right of it as against his critic—in this sense, that his interpretation can at least be got out of the text as it stands, whereas Mr. Hoernle's cannot. The dispute turns chiefly on these two verses:

πῆρναι τενόντων θ' ὑπογραφὰ μετρούμεναι
εἰς ταῦτό συμπάλνουναι τοῖς ἐμοῖς στίβοις.

To avoid the absurdity of supposing equality of size in a brother's and sister's feet as a means of recognition, Verrall (after Sir W. Ridgeway) took these lines to indicate an agreement in the proportion of parts, not in the size of the feet; and this again to be a mark of race, distinguishing Orestes and Electra as Pelopids of Asiatic origin from all other Argives. The measurements in question are those of the *πῆρναι* and *τένοντες* *inter se*, which are alike in both the brother and sister; and this seems perfectly possible Greek. Mr. Hoernle objects that nothing is said in the text about their being Pelopids of Asiatic origin; to which Verrall would probably have replied that it was in the story which Aeschylus presumed to be familiar to his audience. Mr. Hoernle's explanation is that Electra is already convinced of Orestes' *agency* in the matter of the hair, and that *εἰς ταῦτό συμπάλνουναι* can only mean 'come together to the same point as my tracks,' this observation enabling her to track Orestes to his hiding-place and discover his actual *presence*. This the words might signify elsewhere. But here their meaning is surely fixed by *μετρούμεναι* before them, or else that word itself has none, and accordingly Mr. Hoernle proceeds to emend it out of existence. Whether Verrall assumes more knowledge in the audience than can reasonably be allowed is open to question. But it is difficult to see how Aeschylus can be acquitted of absurdity except on some such hypothesis as his; and until a better one is offered perhaps we should accept it, unless we prefer to think that Aeschylus was careless.

AUSTIN SMYTH.

THE RHYTHM OF SPEECH.

The Rhythm of Speech. By Dr. W. THOMSON. One vol. 4to. Pp. 559+10. Glasgow: MacLehose and Jackson, 73, West George Street, 1923. £5 5s.

DR. THOMSON adduces, not as a view or opinion, but as a matter of universal observation and universal thought-expression, that a smith's blows on the anvil, themselves occupying no time, are in inorganic rhythm, meaning that they are uniform in strength and dealt at equal intervals (his 'quantities' in their most elementary form). On the same grounds the

rhythm of speech is also a matter of blows and intervals. But here the syllabic blows (called by him 'syllicts'), dealt one on the vowel of each syllable, are organic, varying in strength, and occurring at various simple intervals ('quantities') relatively determinable by easy tests. Dr. Thomson puts this proposition forward as a close-knit web of fact and the absolute negation of systems that profess to measure, not intervals, but syllables. These systems, he maintains, by ignoring the rhythmical points of force from and to which measurements are effected, put themselves wholly out of court: they make the settling of quantities not a matter of measuring at all, but an esoteric mystery, an arbitrary, imaginative act divorced from experimental verification. Could these propositions be disproved, Dr. Thomson declares that his book would become so much waste paper and his labour labour in vain.

The above summary, made by the author himself at my suggestion, indicates the general drift of this elaborate and interesting volume. I regret that I cannot myself accept Dr. Thomson's doctrine of 'blows', but space does not permit of any attempt to discuss it or its application to the verse of the ancient or modern languages, in detail. I must therefore content myself with referring readers of the *Class. Rev.* to the book itself, which should be studied respectfully, but critically, by all who are concerned with the basis on which the structure of verse, ancient and modern, rests. By 'experimental verification' Dr. Thomson means not the methods employed in phonetic laboratories, but a method of tapping with the finger which he uses as a means of measuring intervals of time.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

SOURCES FOR EGYPTIAN RELIGION.

Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae. Pars I. auctores ab Homero usque ad Diodorum continens. T. HOPFNER. One vol. Pp. 146. Bonn: Marcus u. Weber, 1922.

THIS volume is one of the early numbers of a series purporting to give in a practical form the sources for the history of ancient religion to be found in the Greek and Latin authors. Should all the collaborators whom Karl Clemen has enlisted in his enterprise do their task as efficiently as Hopfner has in the work before us the series will be a most valuable addition to knowledge. The present volume is only an instalment of the portion dealing with Egyptian religion, and contains passages from authors arranged chronologically, beginning with Homer and ending with Diodorus. It is scarcely necessary to state that a large portion of the book is formed of excerpts from the last-named writer and from Herodotus. Side by side with these we find passages, naturally of varying value, culled from the most recondite sources, some of them doubtless new to many of us. The critical apparatus, without being unwieldy, provides all that is necessary to a judgment of the text from the point of view of its bearing on religion. The book is well printed, and the choice of type admirable throughout.

When the series is complete it will be interesting to compare the amount of real light thrown on the various religions—Persian, Egyptian, Babylonian, etc.—by the Greek and Roman writers. The historian of Egyptian religion finds the classical sources as a whole of disappointingly small value. They describe only the very latest phase, when the Pantheon was in complete confusion, and they practically confine themselves to repeating legends of the Egyptian gods and attempting identifications with their own. In other words, there is a lack of insight and critical spirit. They have given us some useful facts, but not one of them has attempted to touch the inner meaning—probably, it is fair to say, because there was very little to touch. The Egyptians, though they enjoyed in the eyes of the Greeks a great name for wisdom as the reputed inventors of medicine, mathematics, and astronomy, were in truth as little philosophical as a civilised nation can well be. This was true of their earlier days, and it is doubly true of the days of their decline. For abstract speculation, apart from possible and immediate concrete advantages to be drawn from it, they had no use. They may have deceived the Greeks at large, but they did not take in the acumen of Plato. τὸ φιλομαθές, he says, ὃ δὴ περὶ τὸν παρ' ἡμῶν μάλιστα ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιο τόπον, ἢ τὸ φιλοχρήματον τὸ περὶ τοὺς τε Φοῖνικας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ Αἴγυπτον φαίη τις ἂν οὐχ ἥκιστα.

Pars II. auctores ab Horatio usque ad Plutarchum continens. Pp. 125. 1923.

The second part of this work, which reached me after the above was in type, maintains the high standard of completeness and accuracy set by the first. Even Dioscurides is called upon for the minute details of mythical and religious lore afforded by his *materia medica*. A large portion of the volume is naturally occupied by Plutarch's *de Iside et Osiride*, which is quoted almost in its entirety.

The impression given by the volume as a whole is that the later classical authors are open to precisely the same criticism as the earlier, in that they show a great love for the legendary tittle-tattle of Egyptian religion, combined with a complete inability to probe its real meaning.

T. E. PEET.

CLASSICAL ATHEISM.

Atheism in Pagan Antiquity. By A. B. DRACHMANN. Pp. 5½" x 9". ix + 168. London: Gylendendal, 1922. 7s. 6d.

ENGLISH students may be grateful to Messrs. Gylendendal for their enlightened policy of making Scandinavian scholarship accessible. This little book is worth reading, and the translation is adequate. It surveys the history of ancient religious thought in order to determine how far atheism, in the sense of the denial of the reality of the gods, can be said to have existed, and in particular how far the philosophers, who were nicknamed *atheoi*, deserved the title. Inevitably the conclusions are mainly negative. The solution of the most radical questionings of the nature of God must always lie rather in the direction of *ἔρεπὸν τι* than of *τὸ μὴ εἶναι*.

Professor Drachmann naturally emphasises the non-theological character of city state religion. Perhaps he hardly brings out sufficiently its social and civic character. In this lies the real reason why *asebeia* could be formulated as a criminal charge, and also the reason why both Jews and Christians earned popular hatred by their refusal to fit in with the ordinary customs and regulations of the rest of society, and the Christians the adverse attention of the state by their refusal to conform with acts of fealty. It is noticeable that what can fairly be called theological preoccupation first enters philosophy with the Cynics, when the city state with its limited horizon had really broken down. In the recorded prosecutions upon theological charges (Anaxagoras, Hermokopids, Diagoras between 416-414, Protagoras [?] 415, Socrates), *asebeia* is an instrument for creating prejudice, not the true motive of indictment. The prosecutions belong to a period of political strain and disordered nerves when superstition and a crude rationalism (*vide* the Melian Dialogue, which Professor Drachmann has omitted from his survey) were rampant. In less critical moments, provided that the theological theories of an individual did not involve him in anti-social or unpatriotic action, they were his own concern. Though subsequently used by the accusers of Socrates for more than it was worth, the attack in the *Clouds* at the time of its production was a joke.

The view taken by subsequent ages of the pagan gods opens up an interesting field of enquiry, the fringe of which is hardly touched in the brief concluding chapters of the book. Criticism of an alien religious system from without is, of course, a different matter from criticism from within. The dual but inconsistent attack—(1) 'The heathen in his blindness bows down to wood and stone'; (2) the alien gods are demons—which was inherited from Judaism, has persisted to our own day. The demonological view, of course, fell into line with the trend of the religious speculation of later paganism and a geocentric cosmography. It survived as late as Rawlinson on Herodotus I. 47. It was the habitual explanation offered by travellers of alien religions other than paganism, and Drachmann's allusion to Acosta has many parallels.¹ The whole mediaeval and Moslem view of archaeology would come into the completed story; the oracles which fell dumb at the Nativity and the talismans which lost their power at Mahomet's birth. The reason why later ages exaggerated the oracular character of ancient religion may perhaps be attributed to mediaeval theory. The history of the word 'negromancy,' or the most rapid perusal of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, or some similar treatise, will bring conviction that the greatest utility claimed for medieval magic, and consequently its greatest attraction, was the power of wresting the secrets of the future. In

¹ *E.g.* 'All the pictures around the said chapel are those of devils, and on each side of it there is a Sathanas seated in a seat,' Ludovico di Varthema, *Travels* (Hakluyt Society, 1868), p. 136.

the eighteenth century the emphasis shifted rather from oracles to mysteries conceived as a kind of Freemasonry, until Lobeck dealt the *coup de grâce* to the view that classical religion was something like the incoherent mysticism of *The Magic Flute*. W. R. HALLIDAY.

Chanties in Greek and Latin. Written for Ancient Traditional Airs. By W. H. D. ROUSE, Headmaster of the Perse School. Oxford. Blackwell. 2s. 6d.

It is a pity that Dr. Rouse should have set so many (nearly half) of his very entertaining 'Chanties' to French, German, or Italian tunes. The book is intended presumably for English schoolboys, and there are any number of English tunes which would have been better known and served his purpose as well. Also it was surely a mistake to employ a possibly older but certainly unfamiliar variant of 'John Brown's Body,' for 'What the Animals say,' and to give 'Malbrouk' instead of 'He's a jolly good Fellow.' The tunes themselves badly need phrase-marks to guide the scansion. Dr. Rouse has set himself a high standard of quantitative adjustment, but the expedient adopted in 'Torty-Tortoise' (♩ ♪ for ♩ ♪) is hardly a workmanlike one; and no expedient at all is offered for fitting the fifth line of 'Pyrgopolynceis' to its notes. The Greek and the Latin is not always as idiomatic as it is rhythmical; see, for example, the third stanza of 'Salamis' for an odd use of μέγα φρονεῖν with the dative.

But it is churlish, and perhaps pedantic, to raise complaints against a book that combines so much amusement with instruction, and contains such really stirring ditties as 'The Siren,' 'Caesar's Triumph,' and above all 'Salamis' itself. J. BURNABY.

L'EPITOME NELLA LETTERATURA LATINA.

L'Epitome nella letteratura latina. By MARCO GALDI. 10" x 7". Pp. viii + 416. Napoli: P. Federico e G. Ardia, 1922. Lire 30.

IT is almost inevitable that some should approach a history of epitomising with a certain amount of prejudice on the ground that the subject is a dry one and the phenomenon itself symptomatic of a decadent period, when creative literature had ceased and readers preferred summaries of famous books to the famous books themselves. Signor Galdi labours under no delusion in this respect. He does not conceal the truth that in ages of prolific literary production it would have been wasted industry to compose and issue abridgements, but he protests against classing epitomators universally as mediocrities (*chiamarli tutti 'homines inepti' non mi par giusto*, p. 291). The third and fourth centuries of our era may be called the heyday of the epitomator, when minor writers and their thoughts appealed to readers more than did the great author. There was, in fact, definite hostility—from which emperors were not free—against older and fuller books; and if epitomators set to work they at least met a

demand, contributing to their own personal culture and aiding the reading public of the day, for whom probably half or even a smaller fraction of a literary loaf was better than no bread. The object of epitomators cannot be said to have been that of entirely supplanting the work from which they drew; they may have in some cases even awakened a desire to turn from the compendium to the detailed treatment in the original. Perhaps, then, it is futile to attempt to settle whether epitomes militated against the preservation of the work epitomised, for sometimes both original and epitome have come down together, as is true of Vitruvius and Faventinus. Two abridgements did not kill Valerius Maximus, nor did epitomators and excerptors cause Pliny's *Natural History* to disappear. Half of Seneca's *Controversies* and nearly three and a half decades of Livy survived in spite of being summarised, although, on the other hand, sometimes only the abridgement has descended to posterity. Justinus, for example, remains, while Trogus, his foundation, has perished.

The author has designed this careful work to fill a gap in the history of Latin literature by presenting a systematic examination of epitomes among the Romans and of their relationship to their originals. A natural impulse towards this general treatment of the subject came from the author's previous studies of Justinus, and from his desire to test how far the pervading characteristics of epitomators might be found conformable with Justinus' own guiding principle—*omittere quae nec cognoscendi uoluptate iucunda nec exemplo essent necessaria*.

The treatise consists of an introduction, followed by twenty-eight chapters, a conclusion, five appendices, notes containing useful bibliographical matter, and an index. The introduction on composers of epitomes in Greece leads naturally to a chapter on the meaning of *ἐπιτομή* and its Latin equivalents, *compendium*, *summarium*, and, with certain qualifications, *breuiarium*. One chapter is given to the relationship of M. Junius Brutus to the annalists and to the literary life of his times; and several succeeding chapters treat fully the various epitomes of Livy, dealing with the theory that out of an older anonymous epitome a shorter one was made, and with the inferences derivable from the presence of non-Livian words or constructions. Regarding Florus, the author considers this epitomator to be the Florus with whom Hadrian exchanged jocular verses, and, like others since Wernsdorf, he ascribes to Florus the composition of the *Peruigilium Veneris*. Incidentally it may be noted that Mr. Fort in his recent edition of the poem called attention to the noticeably similar management of the endings of the trochaic tetrameter in the *Peruigilium* and in the fourth-century lines of Tiberianus. As a writer of condensed history, Florus did not slavishly or even exclusively use Livy; he was more of a Caesarian than Livy, and had his own pronounced view of the Empire as the outcome of a struggle between Fortune and Virtue—a view shared by Curtius Rufus concerning the career of Alexander.

About Licinianus, detected in 1857 in the majuscles which formed the bottom stratum of writing in a *codex ter scriptus*, much remains obscure; but the author agrees with Camozzi that Licinianus was an epitomator rather than an annalist. The *Book of Prodigies* by Obsequens and the *Liber Memorialis* by Ampelius occupy the next two chapters, though, since Ampelius was admittedly anterior to Obsequens, it is not clear why he should have been treated after him. Strictly, the Livian *periocliae* are not epitomes, but they are succinctly considered in the chapter preceding the longest one in the book—namely, that handling Trogus and Justinus, the epitomator *par excellence*, and including questions of sources, style, and the extent to which the lost original is fairly represented in the abbreviation. Among the subjects of other chapters are Exuperantius in his relationship to Sallust, and abridgements of Valerius Maximus, Seneca's *Controversiae*, the elder Pliny, Verrius Flaccus, and Vitruvius. Aurelius Victor's *Historiae Abbreviatae* and the juridical epitomators are also treated. One of the late chapters, after emphasising the difference between 'epitome' and 'breuiarium,' passes on to discuss the historical *breuiaria* by Eutropius and Rufus Festus. Another indicates the difficulty in deciding whether certain compositions are to be deemed independent works or compendia—e.g., is the *Ilias Latina* (which some critics, on the strength of a forced acrostic, assign to Silius Italicus) to be considered an epitome, or simply a brief but free rehandling of the Homeric *Iliad*? The chapter on auto-epitomators expounds the motives prompting a writer to make a compendium of his own writings, and examines the instances of Varro, Lactantius, and others. Abbreviated translations and the last phases of epitome are the two concluding subjects; and the appendices open up themes which might well provide material for an additional volume—e.g., excerpts, centos, and Petrarch as auto-epitomator.

The work is characterised not only by scholarship, but by common-sense. The author's sanity and independence of judgment appear in his attitude on debated questions or fanciful hypotheses. The burning desire to discover and overstress similarities of expression between writers resembles to his mind that *pruritus emendandi* which leads to the replacing of manuscript readings by arbitrary and untenable conjectures, as, he says (p. 48), Merkel did in his text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The argument that the epitomator of Seneca the elder wrote solely for composers of *declamationes* is dismissed as an intemperate exaggeration of the sort indulged in by some critics 'beyond the Alps' (p. 58); while the dogmatic claim of Borchardt that definite passages in Justinus are obviously genuine portions of the lost Trogus is likened to the procedure of certain German philologists in connexion with the Homeric epics (p. 116). This individuality of outlook shows itself repeatedly after a statement and investigation of the theories of other scholars; thus, although the author often agrees with Schanz, he modifies that critic's notion that Pompeius Festus was an intellectually arrogant

person ('ein anmassender Mensch'), and maintains that Festus was independent rather than arrogant, and that he did not feel for Roman antiquity quite that reverence which marks Fronto or Aulus Gellius (p. 77).

A few slight misprints have been overlooked: 'Wöfflin' for 'Wölflin,' p. 36; 'Teuffell' for 'Teuffel,' p. 231; and the variation between 'Aviano' and 'Ariano' on p. 47. On p. 40 Statius' ode to Vibius Maximus should be referred to Book IV., not to V., of the *Silvae*; p. 55, the reference to Livy should be to Book I. 28, not I. 8; and in the quotation 'carum' is a mistake for 'earum.' On p. 289 the epitome of Vitruvius by Favorinus is curiously called 'la riduzione di Favorino.'

J. WIGHT DUFF.

THE POLITICAL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF TACITUS.

Le Idee Politiche Morali e Religiose di Tacito.
By FRANCESCO ARNALDI. One vol. 9½" x 6½".
Pp. 76. Roma: Scuola Tipografica Salesiana, 1921.

IN this essay, the author, after a brief introduction, has dealt with the political, moral, and religious ideas of Tacitus, basing his conclusions on the historian's text, and on the investigations of Italian, French, and German scholars. Outside those limits Lipsius' alone seems to be mentioned ('Polandese molto erudito e molto volubile ch' entra trionfante nel Parnaso di Traiano Boccalini'), and no British authorities are cited. The study contains useful and suggestive matter regarding Tacitus' own views, and regarding views held about him by modern critics. Boissier's influence is plainly discernible, though the author is by no means tied to him; and among his most interesting remarks are those on Vico, and on certain resemblances between Tacitus and Dante. While the essayist is at pains to disclaim any attempt to frame a systematic picture of Tacitean thought, which exhibits notorious fluctuations and inconsistencies, he at the same time lays emphasis on prepossessions which are fairly constant in Tacitus, such as his admiration for the lost republican spirit, his aristocratic leanings, his belief in senatorial rule, his hatred of Domitian's tyranny, and his prevailing pessimism in spite of a resigned acceptance of imperialism. The political section includes an outline of his attitude to institutions and men from the youthful *Dialogus* onwards through the historical writings. Evidence concerning his opinions on previous historians is serviceably marshalled, and it is made clear that Tacitus' criticisms imply a claim for his own work as something different from theirs, and, though gloomier, more profound.

The next section indicates the influence of Stoic conceptions on Tacitus, and illustrates his deep penetration into character as well as his extraordinary skill in portrayal. In the *Dialogus* anticipatory signs are noted of that mature power of psychological analysis which is visible in his drawing of the three Caesars of the *Annals*. A questionable point is whether Tacitus was equally masterly in fathoming the

psychology of women or of the populace; here he may have found it still harder to emancipate himself from the effects of ancient prejudice and personal upbringing.

If no philosophy of religion can be established from the pages of Tacitus, there is yet in him a prevailing though confused sense of the divine; and the final section examines aspects thereof, and closes with a consideration of his failure to understand either Christianity or Judaism.

Defective proof-reading is an unfortunate blemish. Both Italian letterpress and Latin passages are at times imperfectly or misleadingly punctuated; and there are misprints like *convellentuum*, p. 27, l. 3; *proditiones* for *proditionis*, p. 27, l. 14; and the impossible *maioro*, p. 46, l. 1. Many references are inaccurate as to book or chapter—e.g., p. 13, n. 5, *Ann.* 3, 38 should be 2, 38; p. 63, n. 2, Nero's matricide is referred to *Ann.* Book 4 instead of Book 14; p. 22, n. 5, *Ann.* 14, 39 should be 14, 19, where also the reference to Quintilian, *Inst.* 10, 104 should be 10, 1, 102. On p. 54, 'in quel capitolo 28 del libro II degli *Annali*,' both book and chapter are wrong, for the reference is intended for 6, 22, the chapter contrasting the fate-theory with the chance-theory of life; and the same chapter seems to be meant by the false reference, *Ann.* 2, 22, on p. 56, n. 4. On p. 6, n. 9, '*Ann.* 10, 21' refers to a non-existent book; p. 43, n. 5 '*Carmina* 33' is an incomplete reference to Horace; and p. 56, n. 14, '*Ann.* 165' is meaningless. In the Italian text, p. 20, 'Licinio Marco' looks misleading for Licinius Macer, and on p. 64 and p. 65 'Trasca' should be 'Trasea.' P. 13, n. 7, '11, 21 su Cluvio Rufo' betrays confusion between two entirely different historians, Curtius Rufus and Cluvius.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

The Arts in Greece. By F. A. WRIGHT. One vol. 8vo. Pp. viii+111. London: Longmans, 1923. 6s.

THIS little work consists of three essays, respectively on the dance, music, and painting in Hellas. The arts which Mr. Wright selects are obviously those about which we know the least; as to Greek poetry, the drama, and sculpture we are far better informed, and we have to apply to the arts of which Mr. Wright speaks the principles thence derived. The author is a convinced admirer of Greek culture, and of its character he has a very good notion, though he sometimes exaggerates. Some of his dicta are very bold, as when he says that the proficiency of Germans in instrumental music is a result of the harshness of the German language, and that the Greeks would have fully approved the pianola, but condemned the violin. But on the whole, this book is to be highly commended; it is based on learning and reflexion, and it is very suggestive. The greatest doubt of the reviewer is whether, outside a very narrow circle, readers will be able to follow it without more explanation and illustration. The author mentions Greek vases in the Louvre, the Hermitage, and other museums, as if they were

familiar to readers, and does not describe them. Evidently he can visualise them himself; but even classical scholars would wish for an engraving, or at least a reference to some work in which they are published. The few who have adequate knowledge will gladly read and digest the book. Could it not, or at least the section on painting, be brought out in a fuller form?

P. GARDNER.

Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, Vol. I.: De Glossariorum Latinorum Origine et Fatis, scripsit GEORGIUS GOETZ. Leipzig (Teubner), 1923; pp. vii+431; 22 sh.

AT last the veteran professor of Jena University has finished his *monumentum aere perennius*, begun in 1888. Congratulations to him and homage. In this crowning volume the information scattered through the prefaces of Vols. II.-V. and his article 'Glossographie' in *Pauly-Wissowa* is collected in revised form. But since the new material is mainly found in a supplement by Professor Wessner (pp. 309-91), entitled *De Lindsayi eiusque Discipulorum Studiis Glossographicis*, I have asked Dr. Mountford to relieve me of the task of reviewing it.

W. M. LINDSAY.

In his *Addenda* Professor Wessner summarises and discusses British articles and pamphlets published before June 1922, and appends a short study of his own on the Glossae Iuvenalianae. Professed students of glossaries will find his criticisms and halting commendations interesting and of some value; but it may be doubted whether his work can be safely used by anyone not familiar with the ground traversed. All his inaccuracies and hasty judgments cannot be adequately indicated here, though a selection will warn readers not to trust too implicitly to this new volume.

More bold than Goetz, Wessner (p. 313) thinks that the inscription found in an eleventh-century MS. at Madrid (and supposed to indicate the place and date of the compilation of Abstrusa-Abolita) is copied 'sine dubio' from a seventh-century MS. But the glossary follows a law-code (the *Lex Visigothorum*) ending with the word *filios gloriosos Bambam et Vitizam reges* in painted majuscules. Attracted by the large coloured letters the scribe tried his pen hurriedly on this sentence before beginning to transcribe the glossary. So the 'mira inscriptio' is a mere 'probatio pennae,' a fact which Wessner could have discovered by examining the facsimile of Muñoz and the work of Hartel (which Goetz mentions)!

The treatment accorded to Professor Lindsay's Festus studies is unworthy of Wessner's powers. He has in the first place neglected one of the most important foundations of Lindsay's structure — the presence of groups of possible Festus items in Abolita. In addition to thus falsifying Lindsay's position he is unwilling to recognise that a glossary compiler, within limits, may remodel his material, and he takes no account of alterations in transmission. Comparing *Murrina potio divina, quae apud Graecos dicitur nectar, id est vinum murratum*

with the epitome of Paulus (*M. genus potionis, quae Graece dicitur véκtap, hanc mulieres vocabant muriolam, quidam murratum vinum*) he gravely doubts Festus as the source of the glossary item. Yet (p. 375) Wessner is ready to believe that a Liber Glossarum item (*Remex dictus*, etc.) comes from Isid. *Etym.* 19, 1, 6 in spite of the fact that the item is labelled *De Glossis*, and its last sentence is not in Isidore at all. Scepticism may be salutary, but it should not be capricious.

Again, 'comprobatum autem vetustiorum librum in universum cum Palatino consentire recentiorum in Italia exaratum' (p. 332) is not a sufficiently accurate report of statements that 'the alphabetical arrangement (of the older Tours MS. of Lib. Gloss.) agrees for the most part with that of *Vat. Pal.*,' and that the younger MS. is written in a 'fifteenth-century Italian hand.' In point of fact the older MS. does not belong to the *Vat. Pal.* family, nor was the younger MS. written in the Italian peninsula.

In his discussion of the Glossae Vergilianae, Wessner plies an oar of his own. Relying unwisely on Goetz's excerpts (not one-tenth of the total) from Lib. Gloss., he rashly argues that a Paris glossary (lat. nouv. acq. 1298) represents the nucleus of Lib. Gloss. (p. 332, 374). He does not know that one item in ten of the Paris glossary is not found in Lib. Gloss. and that these omitted items are of various types (Abstrusa, Abolita, Placidus, Quotation-items, etc.) His analysis of the Paris glossary is itself insufficient; there are thirty-four Isidore items of which he has found only twenty, and all of them (not two or three) are in Lib. Gloss. The presence of Eucherius items has entirely escaped him.

All through these pages Professor Wessner clings to the heresy that each glossary compiler had independent access to ancient texts and lore, and he unnecessarily multiplies the sources on which he supposes the compilers drew. This mistaken view explains his treatment of Festus glosses, but it scarcely justifies his cavalier disparagement of Dr. H. J. Thomson's demonstration that much ancient lore in glossaries came from Vergil scholia (by way of a fuller form of the Abstrusa glossary). In some details Wessner's dissent is weighty and worth consideration; but his pages on the whole cannot be said to possess the accuracy and authority one expects to find in the introductory volume of an important Corpus.

J. F. MOUNTFORD.

The Ecclesiasusae of Aristophanes. Translated into corresponding metres by B. B. ROGERS. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1923. Paper, 2s. net; cloth, 3s. 6d. net.

THIS reprint, which outwardly resembles Murray's versions of Euripides, gives the English without the Greek, a page of introduction, stage directions drawn from Rogers's text or commentary, and four pages of notes. Six plays are announced as ready, and others are to follow. Good.

E. HARRISON.

GREEK INDUSTRIES.

'Fabrieken' en 'Fabrikanten' in Griekenland. Door Professor Dr. H. BOLKESTEIN. Pp. 32. (Overdruk uit *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, afl. 1, 1923. Groningen: P. Noordhoff. In the inventory of Demosthenes' heritage why is nothing allowed for factory, machinery, tools? Dr. Bolkestein explains; and round

his interpretation of the passage of Demosthenes he has written a most instructive exposure of the mistakes of the German historians who describe Greek industries in terms drawn from the economics of to-day. Failing German and English translations of the pamphlet, let us hope at least for an ample notice in the *J.H.S.*

E. HARRISON.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

MUSÉE BELGE, XXVII. 4-9.

(APRIL-JULY, 1923.)

A. Delatte, *Le Déclin de la Légende des Sept Sages et les Prophètes théosophiques*. R. Cagnat, *La Colonie romaine de Djemila (Algérie)*. Ancient Cuicul (plans and photographs). P. Faider, *Sen. De Ira* I. 1. 4, 'magnasque irae minas agens,' probably quoted from Ovid's *Medea*. P. Graindor, *Études sur Athènes sous Auguste*. I.G. III. 594 (cp. 574, 584, 599, honours to Romans not later than Aug.). Boule honours Livy with statue in lifetime. Livy no doubt visited Athens. M. Clerc, *Marseille et Jules César*. Caesar deliberately misrepresents motives of M. in resisting him: Dio and Lucan (after Livy) nearer truth. E. Cavaignac, *Témoignages de Non-philosophes sur Socrate*. S. once an ordinary sophist, and not too blindly caricatured in Ar. *Clouds*, when Plato and Xen. children. Condemned (against amnesty) partly because superior attitude to parties resented. A. Blanchet, *Note sur la Legio V. Mac. sous Gallien et Victorin*. A. Piganiol, *Obs. sur la Date des Traités conclus entre Rome et Carthage*. Polybius' first and second texts should be transposed; 509 an error, because a Junius Brutus figured in treaty of 328. Four treaties: 348, 328, 306, 279. R. Scalais, *Une Étude sur la Legislation financière de la Sicile*. With reference to J. Carcopino: *La Loi d'Hieron et les Romains* (Paris, 1919). L.-A. Constans, *Les Débuts de la Lutte entre César et Vercingetorix*.

MUSÉE BELGE: BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE.

(XXVII. 4-8.)

GREEK.—*Heraclitus*: V. Macchiore, *Eraclito. Nuovi Studi sull' Orfismo* (Bari, 1922). Adventurous and unsound (Delatte). *Lucian*: J. Hombert et A. Masson, *Dialogues choisis* (4^e éd. Gand). Favourable (Willem).

LATIN.—*Cicero*: J. Martha, *Pro Milone* (4^e éd. Colin). E. Courbaud, *De l'Orateur I. Texte établi et traduit* (Paris, Soc. d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1922, 12 fr.). Favourable (Hinnisdaels). *Tacitus*: H. Goelzer, H. Bornecque, G. Rabaud, *Dial. Agr. Germ. Texte établi et traduit* (1922, same publ. 16 fr.). Literary problems well discussed and text 'adroitly conservative' (Hinnisdaels).

NO. CCXCI. VOL. XXXVII.

GENERAL.—W. E. Heitland, *Agricola*. Excellent instrument of travail (Scalais). L. Homo, *Problèmes sociaux de jadis et d'à présent* (Flammarion, 1922). Ancient housing, cost of living, taxation, depopulation (Scalais). G. Bloch, *L'Empire romain* (Flammarion, 1922, 7 fr. 50). Survey based on wide knowledge of sources (Scalais). V. Schollaert, *Hist. de la Grèce ancienne* (Coll. Belge, Manuels d'Histoire) (Tournai, 1921). Favourable (Scalais). L. Heuzey, *Hist. du Costume antique* (Champion, 1922, 60 fr.). His crowning work (Ed.). Sandys, *Companion to Latin Studies* (3rd ed.). The fullest and best existing manual: inadequate on Christian literature and on metre (Jamet). Obituary notice of E. Merchie.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLAS-SISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC. (ILBERG).

(LI./LII. 1, 2, 3, 1923.)

1. Conrad Cichorius, *Römische Studien: Historisches, Epigraphisches, Literaturgeschichtliches aus vier Jahrhunderten Roms* [Leipzig u. Berlin, Teubner, 1922] (F. Münzer). Praised most warmly as a storehouse of new and valuable results: but criticised on several points of detail.—Karl Joël, *Geschichte der Antiken Philosophie. Erster Band* [Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1921] (W. Nestle). Enthusiastically praised.—Otto Schroeder, *Pindars Pythien erklärt* [Leipzig u. Berlin, Teubner, 1922] (E. Bethe). Highly praised: the extreme compression of the notes is lamented. Bethe challenges Schroeder's belief in Pindar's noble birth.
2. Adolf Schulten, *Avieni Ora Maritima (Periplus Massiliensis saec. VI. a. C.) adiunctis ceteris testimoniis anno 500 a. C. antiquioribus* (= *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae, fasc. I.*) [Barcelona, A. Bosch, Berlin, Weidmann, 1922]. The same, *Tartessos. Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Geschichte des Westens* [Hamburg, L. Friederichsen and Co., 1922] (H. Renkel). Both works are warmly praised, especially the analysis of Avienus' sources (going back to a Massilian work of c. 530 B.C.). The immense importance of Tartessos from the second millennium B.C. is emphasised.
3. Armin von Gerkan, *Das Theater von Priene als Einzelanlage und in seiner Bedeutung für das hellenistische Bühnenwesen* [München-Berlin-Leipzig, Verlag für praktische Kunstwissenschaft F. Schmidt, Komm.-Ges., 1921]

N

(A. Rumpf). A masterpiece of careful investigation. Rumpf considers that von Gerkan has proved that at Priene the *proskēnion* was originally (from end of fourth till second century B.C.) a *background*, later a *stage*: but the function of its flat wooden covering remains mysterious.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(MAY-AUGUST, 1923.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—N. Wecklein, *Über Zusätze und Auslassungen von Versen im Homerischen Texte* [SB. d. K. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. München, 1918, Franz. Pp. 84] (Drerup). W., following Zenodotus, rejects freely what he believes to be spurious lines and passages. Reviewer not convinced.—*Orphicorum fragmenta*. Collegit O. Kern [Berlin, 1922, Weidmann. Pp. x + 407] (Körte). Almost oppressively full collection of authorities, followed by very exact text of the fragments with detailed references to the literature on each.—E. Howald, *Die Briefe Platons* [Zürich, 1923, Seldwyla. Pp. 197] (Nestle). Very careful edition, with introduction, critical apparatus, and commentary; a distinct advance in the research on Plato's letters.—F. Preisigke, *Sammlung griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten, II., Zweite Hälfte* [Berlin, 1922, de Gruyter. Pp. 143] (Kiessling). Completes the various indices to the 6,000 documents contained in Vol. I. of this valuable work.

LATIN LITERATURE.—*Die Komödien des Plautus*. Übersetzt von L. Gurlitt [Berlin, 1920-21, Propyläenverlag, Vols. 16-19. Pp. xi + 497; xi + 462; xiv + 587; xiv + 510] (Funck). G.'s translation, with separate introduction to each play, embodies the rich results of his Plautine research. Reviewer censures G. for detecting unnecessary obscenities.—E. Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus* [Berlin, 1922, Weidmann. Pp. 435] (Klotz). F.'s collection and discussion of the characteristics of Plautus as distinct from those of his Greek models allow us a deeper insight into the nature of P.'s art. Favourable review.—P. Ovidii Nasonis *Remedia amoris*. Adnotationibus exegeticis instruxit G. Némethy [Budapest, 1921, Acad. Litt. Hung. Pp. 70] (Magnus). The interpretation is confined to notes on single passages; often thin and far from thorough, but marks some advance on previous editions. Reviewer discusses N.'s text in some detail.—*Supplementum Commentariorum ad Ovidii Amores, Tristia, et Epistulas ex Ponto*. Scripsit G. Némethy [Budapest, 1922, Acad. Litt. Hung. Pp. 47] (Magnus). Criticism and interpretation of numerous passages.—*Iulii Frontini de aquaeductu urbis Romae commentarius*. Edidit F. Krohn [Leipzig, 1922, Teubner. Pp. vii + 58] (Hosius). Very careful edition; text conservative, apparatus too brief.

PHILOSOPHY.—A. Goedeckemeyer, *Aristoteles' praktische Philosophie (Ethik und Politik)* [Leipzig, 1922, Dieterich. Pp. 254] (Wallies). Second only to Zeller's work, which it resembles in its calm objectivity, and which it frequently supplements.—†O. Willmann, *Pythagoreische Erziehungsweisheit. Aus dem literar. Nachlass hrsg. von Wensel Pohl* [Freiburg, 1922, Herder. Pp. viii + 110] (Seeliger). Will be welcomed by all who believe in a religious basis for education.—L. Leisegang, *Griechische Philosophie von Thales bis Platon und Hellenistische Philosophie von Aristoteles bis Plotin* [Breslau, 1922 and 1923, Hirt. Pp. 128 and 132] (Seeliger). A happy summary, intended for wide circles and written in clear and dignified language.

LANGUAGE.—J. Huber, *De lingua antiquissimorum Graeciae incolarum. Commentationes Aenipontanae quas edunt E. Diehl et E. Kalinka, IX.* [Vienna, 1921, Fromme] (Jax). H. tries to sift out the pre-Greek elements in Greek; these he finds especially in names of plants and animals, geographical names, etc. Warmly welcomed by reviewer as filling a large gap in our knowledge.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—E. Krüger, *Der Aufbau des Mausoleums von Halikarnass* [SA. aus Bonner Jahrb. 127. Bonn, 1922. Pp. 22; 3 plates] (P. Herrmann). Noteworthy new restoration, based on fresh measurements of pyramid steps.—A. Minto, *Populonia, la necropoli arcaica* [Florence, 1922, Bemporad. Pp. 171; 13 plates and 27 illustrations] (Lamer). Account of Villanova and later graves at P., and of their contents; a scholarly working up of reports in Not. d. Scavi since 1908.—F. Poulsen, *Vases grecs récemment acquis par la Glyptothèque de Ny-Carlsberg* [Copenhagen, 1922, Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Pp. 27; 11 plates] (Lamer). Reliable, well-illustrated account of twenty-four representative pieces in the new Greek Vase Department at Ny-Carlsberg.—G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* [Stuttgart, N.D., Hoffmann; 1,695 illustrations on 167 plates] (W. Müller). Nearly two-thirds of the material is classical; intended for art lovers. Reviewer censures arrangement by subjects and enlargement of gems on the plates.—M. Schede, *Die Burg von Athen* [Berlin, 1922, Schoetz u. Parhysius; 28 illustrations in the text, 99 on plates, and 1 coloured plate] (Ippel). Aims at giving pictures of Acropolis and its monuments in successive periods, with historical introduction to each. Treatment of poroscultures specially praised. Recommended for schools.

PALAEOGRAPHY.—R. P. Robinson, *De fragmenti Suetoniani de grammaticis et rhetoribus codicum nexu et fide* [University of Illinois Press, 1922. Pp. 195] (Wessner). Thorough and fruitful preparation for the edition which R. promises. Reviewer gives a full summary.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,

Professor Conway is to be congratulated upon undertaking, in *The Making of Latin*, a task that is too frequently neglected by his confrères, who studiously hold themselves aloof from modern linguistic work. A distinguished professor of Greek once told the writer that he cared not a jot how Greek was pronounced, and it mattered nothing to him that his pupils were ignorant of its alleged pronunciation. Then, turning from the language of the dead to that of the living, 'Why,' he asked, 'should we expect our honours students of French to pronounce French well, so long as they know something about their French literature?'

Literature is safe in the hands of such zealous champions, but in the meantime language perishes. Speech does not normally exist apart from pronunciation, and in the main, casting aside for a moment syntax and semantics, the history of language is an affair of the much despised pronunciation.

Professor Conway does not share this restricted outlook, and he has made a serious attempt to describe the phonetic structure and the origin of Latin. It is a contribution that students of Romance philology especially will be grateful for, and it is in the hope that certain errors will be removed in future editions that the following remarks are made.

The study of phonetics, to which some attention is devoted in this country, has made it clear that in dealing with speech-sounds, it is essential that some attempt at scientific method should be adopted in classification. A more accurate classification of speech-sounds, both vowel and consonant, would have been of great help in this book. Moreover, to talk of vowels, consonants, and sonants is to lead the student to imagine that 'sonants' are a class of sounds that are neither vowel nor consonant. The definition of vowels as 'sounds produced by the voice passing through the mouth while the tongue and lips are held in some particular position' is inaccurate. According to this definition *i* is a vowel, and the diphthong *ou* is not. Vowels are voiced sounds in which there is neither complete obstruction nor any narrowing of the speech organs such as to cause audible friction.

The definition of a consonant as a sound that cannot be heard unless it is accompanied by a sonant is inaccurate. The sounds usually represented by the letters *s*, *x*, *v*, *f*, are all consonants, and they can, of course, be heard without any accompanying sonant.

It should be made clear that these 'sonants,' *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, are in reality syllabic consonants; their sonority is so little inferior to that of vowels that they are able to form syllables without the help of vowels.

The semi-vowels are not well explained. The English words 'way' and 'low' do not end in semi-vowel sounds. Is Professor Conway guilty of confusing sound and symbol?

The *l* sound is produced when the air-passage is stopped in the middle by the tip of the tongue, and the voice emerges at one side or at both sides. To say that when *l* is produced the sides of the tongue are vibrated is not in accordance with fact.

The palatal plosive is not heard in the English words 'kin' and 'get,' but a slightly fronted velar plosive. The initial sound of 'shur' is not a palatal fricative, but an alveolar fricative.

In the production of nasal consonants, *all* the air, not part of it, passes through the nose. It is in the production of nasalised vowels that a part only of the air escapes through the nose. The palatal nasal consonant does not occur in English.

To say that 'in vulgar Southern English *w*h is pronounced as *w*,' is to accuse of vulgarity many who will be quite justified in resenting the aspersion. Professor Wyld's view of the matter is different.

The question of Professor Conway's symbols is too wide to be discussed here. Modern phonetic teaching, acting upon psychological grounds, discourages the use of diacritics. Why use *u* for a sound that is so generally represented by *w*?

Most university students, coming from schools where modern languages are taught on modern lines, are acquainted with a phonetic alphabet that is used effectively for the transcription of speech sounds in scores of books. If Professor Conway had made use of this alphabet, and given transcriptions of Latin prose and verse, marking length and stress, he would have added very considerably to the value of his work. Also he would not have had to repeat the list of Latin vowels from the 'table issued by the authority of the Classical Association.' This list would be criticised by any Fifth Form boy who had been taught French by a competent teacher; *z* is described as being 'as *e* in prey, or French *é* as in *bid*.' The English and French sounds have nothing in common.

I is described as being as 'feed or French *amie*.' Why is *amie* feminine? All final vowels in Parisian French are short, whether masculine or feminine. It is only in certain dialects that distinctions of length are made between masculine and feminine words.

The foundation of any linguistic work must be the student's native tongue. Until he knows the structural details of the tongue he uses daily, he is not likely to talk with intelligence about the languages long since dead. It is in the provision of this essential preliminary information that Professor Conway's book falls short, and if in future editions he would rewrite the earlier chapters in the light of modern phonetic teaching, he would add much to our gratitude.

A. LLOYD JAMES.

Department of Phonetics,
University College, London.

A REJOINDER TO MR. LLOYD-JAMES ON THE MAKING OF LATIN.

LET me thank¹ Mr. Lloyd-James for pointing out one serious mistake in the definition of a consonant which I noted for correction directly the book appeared. But otherwise the differences between us seem to me almost wholly a matter of wording. Save on a trivial point he quotes no authorities for his statements, and it would therefore be enough here to say, what is true, that in no one of the points which he raises is his wording commended by the results of my own study. Since, however, such *ripostes* take nobody any further, I add below my reasons, more briefly than I could wish for courtesy's sake, but humbly obeying the Editors.

The source of Mr. James' complaint lies in the difference between what I set out to do and what he would have liked. Besides complaining generally of the limits of the Phonetic sections he asks that I should transcribe passages of Latin into a modern 'Phonetic Alphabet.' He holds that students should not be allowed to approach the history of Latin without first having mastered the phonetics of English and one of the competing systems of phonetic notation. Viator enumerates twenty-two different schemes for classifying the vowels alone which have been put forward by twenty different authors between 1803 and 1908.

No one could hold more strongly than I do that students of language should know that they are talking about sounds, not written symbols, and should have some idea how those sounds were produced; but to say that no knowledge of the history of Latin is possible without the same kind of phonetic precision which is desirable in the study of a modern language, is a view which would be rejected by all the great scholars whose work in the last half-century has built up the fabric of philological knowledge. The *Transcriptionsmishère* also should be kept in its proper place, not thrust upon beginners.

Hence Mr. Lloyd-James everywhere quarrels with my phonetic descriptions, as being incomplete. I dismiss the vowels in twelve lines, adding: 'This is, of course, only a very rough description. In nearly all languages there are a great many intermediate positions giving rise to special kinds of vowels.'

Viator (*Elemente der Phonetik des Deutschen Eng. u. Französ.*, Ed. 6, 1915) gives them 163 octavo pages, mostly of small print. The question whether I have succeeded in selecting the most certain points involves no general principle. One matter, however, concerns the Classical Association, and is typical of Mr. Lloyd-James' attitude. He falls foul of the

scheme of Latin Pronunciation issued by that Association (after the report of a specialist Committee) and adopted by the Board of Education, and wishes it replaced by more precise phonetic descriptions.

This scheme has been a document of importance in all English schools; it had a practical not merely a scientific purpose; and none of its statements are erroneous, except from the point of view of minute phonetic precision. The gulf which there is between Mr. James' attitude and that of the Association is well shown by his remark on the sound of *e* in Latin. This the scheme describes as being like English *ey* in *prey*, or French *é* as in *blé*. Mr. Lloyd-James observes that 'the English and French sounds have nothing in common.'

The descriptions given of the Latin sound were meant as approximations, not identical; but they indicate what we know of the Latin sound closely enough for practical purposes. But what of Mr. Lloyd-James' own statement? Is that quite a model of precision? Does he mean to deny that both the English and French sounds are formed with unimpeded voice? To deny that both are formed with the lips unrounded? To deny that the positions taken by the tongue in both are intermediate between the positions taken in forming the *a* of English *father* and the *i* of English *machine* respectively, but different from both these? All this, in Mr. Lloyd-James' view, is 'nothing.' A more reasonable estimate would be that these three statements cover nine-tenths of the relevant facts. As to the remaining tenth, I shall be happy to learn more from any phonetician who can teach me, whenever I engage in the study of French sounds for their own sake.

I add a few notes on matters of detail:

(1) On some points Mr. James seems to have missed what the book does contain. All that he says about sonants will be found explicitly stated in §§ 30 and 34.

(2) Mr. James rejects my definition of a vowel as 'a sound produced by the voice passing through the mouth while the tongue and lips are held in some particular position'; and he adds: 'according to this definition *l* is a vowel and the diphthong *ou* is not.' Certainly it is not. The definition of a vowel must distinguish it from a diphthong. Nor does my definition include *l* as I described it (formed by some 'vibration' of the sides of the tongue); that, however, would be the effect of Mr. Lloyd-James' two definitions. In the description he gives above of *l*, where is there anything about 'audible friction,' the absence of which he regards as marking a vowel? According to Mr. James sonant *l* is simply a vowel.

(3) As to consonant *l*, Mr. Lloyd-James' definition is in conflict with Viator's (p. 253), who calls *l* a kind of fricative in which a 'very loose narrowing' is enough; adding that stronger narrowing and clear friction appear when it is voiceless.

I depart from Viator by substituting for 'a fricative with a very loose narrowing' the phrase 'formed by vibration of the tongue' in order to describe what I seem to hear in many languages—for instance, in Welsh, Italian,

¹ The Editors rightly deprecate any comments from me on Mr. Campbell's generous review of the book; but they allow me to say that I believe the misprints, with two errors which he pointed out, are now all corrected in a list of *Errata*, and that this will be sent post free to any previous purchaser of the book who applies to the publisher.

and sometimes in English. No doubt Vietor's description is safer. Nevertheless there is a difference of kind between the rough hissing of real fricatives like *f* and *s* and the more musical sound of the liquids; 'vibration' seems a convenient term to represent this; but I will gladly adopt a better when anyone can suggest it.

(4) Mr. Lloyd-James says that the English words *way* and *low* 'do not end in semi-vowel sounds,' and gently suggests that I was deluded into that belief by their spelling. I chose these examples, because the spelling, for once, fairly represents the sound. These sounds are represented by Sweet (*Handbook*, p. 110) by the diphthongs *ei* and *ou*, also by Vietor (*Elem.*, pp. 94 and 109). Jespersen and True, in *Spoken English*, represent them by *e'* and *o'* (see Jespersen's discussion on pp. 144 and 153 of his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* for more precise descriptions).

(5) There is no room in twelve pages of phonetic explanations to distinguish between a 'palatal plosive' and a 'slightly fronted velar'; nor do I know how to ascertain which description would best suit the ancient Latin sound of *c* and *g*.

(6) 'The initial sound of *shut* is not a palatal fricative, but an alveolar fricative.' There was no need to discuss the alveolar sounds as such, though I noticed the term as a more exact description of the English 'dentals.' About these fricatives I wrote that the current of air is rubbed 'between the tongue and some part of the palate; the commonest kind is that of English *sh* in *shut*.' I must submit that *sh* is certainly palatal in my own pronunciation; but even if it is alveolar in other speakers, it is formed 'at some part of the palate.'

(7) 'In the production of nasal consonants all the air, not part of it, passes through the nose.' If Mr. Lloyd-James uses the term nasal consonants, as I do, to include the full sounds of *m* and *n*, I have nothing to say but that in every case (save where they are immediately followed and so curtailed by a breathed plosive) some of the voice escapes through the mouth—*m* differs from *b* only in this, that while the voice is blocked by the lips some of it escapes through the nose; as soon as the block is removed, it escapes at the lips also. Vietor (p. 301) describes them as 'Explosives with nasal resonance.'

(8) 'The palatal nasal consonant does not occur in English.' I suppose that what I have called the palatal nasal in words like *king* would be called by Mr. James 'a slightly fronted velar nasal.'

(9) Mr. James is careful not to name the 'Phonetic Alphabet' which (he says) is used in certain schools. If it comes under my notice, I shall observe with interest whether it is or is not free from the appalling obscurities of Sweet's so-called Romic; nor can I find anywhere in Vietor's books a system of notation that is not open to grave objections. The slight extensions of the Latin alphabet devised by Sievers and Brugmann nowhere suggest a false meaning. No doubt they are inadequate for denoting the sounds of modern languages as precisely as phoneticians desire. It does not follow that

they are not good as far as they go; still less that they are not in place for the general description which is all that we can provide for languages no longer spoken. R. S. CONWAY.

'WORD-ORDER IN HORACE.'

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,

I have to thank Mr. Cookson for writing at such length on my 'Word-Order in Horace.' He has, obviously, struggled to be just in the face of 'the almost personal resentment which one feels in being confronted with a wholly new view on so familiar a book as the *Odes*.' I fear, too, that he has sometimes tempered the wind. But in fairness to the theory, for what it is worth, may I be allowed to defend myself against one or two criticisms? Mr. Cookson chooses the first six lines of the first Ode of Book I. to justify the verdict that my 'conclusions . . . are, to say the least of it, apt to do some violence to the natural meaning of a passage.'

I will take the criticisms in their order. On l. 1 I have called *regibus* emphatic, and have remarked that *regibus edite* would 'scan equally well.' Mr. Cookson denies the truth of this remark. But if Horace could end the last line of this Ode with *uertice*, why should he not end the first line with *edite*? In *Odes* I. 3, Horace concludes nine out of twenty Asclepiads with short open vowels, and nearly all these lines 'end a colon' (if I understand this phrase aright).

On l. 2, Mr. Cookson asks 'why not *dulce meum decus*?' I have answered that it was usual in Latin prose and poetry (as in Italian and French) to put the adjectives on either side of the noun. What more can I say? The order is conventional like 'bread and butter,' 'almonds and raisins.' As to the *nostros* of *Odes* III. 6, 10, Bentley's exact objection is not quite clear; Wickham thinks that he 'objected to the series of accusatives as prosaic.' In any case, the loneliness of *nostros*, *nostris*, *nostrorum* requires comment.

Next, speaking of *pulverem Olympicum* (l. 3), Mr. Cookson holds that on my principles *Olympicum* would be unemphatic. But what I have said in the first section of the *Prolegomena* is that 'when Horace departs from the normal order . . . he wishes to draw our attention to the abnormality and so to emphasise for us the point which he desires to make.' I have not said that a word in a normal position cannot be of interest; on the contrary, the essential meaning of a word may be such that it requires no change of position; and this seems to be true of *Olympicum* and of *nobilis* (l. 5).

The criticism about *feruidis* (l. 4) is perfectly just. One can only answer that certain orders became crystallised. Thus in the familiar hyperbaton *maximis efferat laudibus* (Cic. *De Amic.* 7, 24) it is, perhaps, impossible to tell whether any extra force is given to the adjective; the hyperbaton had become so conventional. The extension of this hyperbaton to participles, as in *uariis obsita floribus* (*Odes* I.

18, 12), is natural enough; and this example is exactly similar to *feruidis euitata rotis*, as I have pointed out in the *Prolegomena* (p. xvi, top line; 'but most of the examples might be classed under § 24').

I have now touched upon all that Mr. Cookson says about these six lines, and, *nisi me amor mei negotii fallit*, I still feel that my conclusions are not, 'to say the least of it, apt to do some violence to the natural meaning of a passage.'

One last word: Mr. Cookson quotes the frequent type *superiecto pauidae natarunt aequore dammae*. This is another conventional hyperbaton, and really a compound form of the type *maximis efferat laudibus*, i.e. we have the familiar *pauidae natarunt dammae* and the equally familiar *superiecto natarunt aequore* set in combination. The effect may be very striking, as in such examples as *Odes* I. 3, 10, '*ragilem truci commisit pelago ratem*. But is

it quite just to say that such classifications are 'not very helpful to the understanding of the poet or his art,' when attention to such classifications does, unless I am mistaken, settle, once for all, the interpretation of passages like *Epod.* 5, 19? H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

INTERLINEAR HIATUS IN HORACE.

PROFESSOR H. J. ROSE writes: 'In the article on the above subject, by Mr. Pritchard-Williams and myself, which appeared in the *C.R.* XXXVII., p. 113, attention should have been drawn to the article of Professor Postgate (Vol. XXXII., 1918, p. 23, *sqq.*) which discusses the whole question of the four-line stanza in Horace, with arguments drawn partly from neglect of synapheia. That this was not done is due purely to an oversight at the time of writing.'

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